The French Book and
the European Book World

Library of the Written Word

The Handpress World

Editor
Andrew Pettegree

The French Book and the European Book World

By

Andrew Pettegree

BRILL

On the cover: "Le triumphant departement du noble sainct pere le Pape".

CONTENTS

PART I

PAMPHLETS AND THEIR READERS

PART II

DISSEMINATION

PART III

PERSPECTIVES

PREFACE

This collection is a celebration of ten years of work on the history of the book. From it inception this represented a change of direction in my work, particularly in the turn towards France. Up until this point I had occupied myself mostly as a historian of the Reformation, and within this context, especially of Northern European: England, Germany and the Netherlands. Considering some of the wider questions thrown up by these investigations, it seemed that France offered a fruitful field for exploration, not least to compare the experience of evangelical reform with those more familiar contexts. The essays presented here to some extent reflect this original orientation towards a comparative study of the French Reformation. But as this work developed I found myself increasingly drawn into the complex, multi-faceted world of French printing, largely for its own sake. There have followed ten happy years during which I have pursued French books into over two hundred libraries, in France and elsewhere, very often working with other colleagues and my long suffering graduate students.

This work has formed part of the larger bibliographical project—the St Andrews French book project—that has been the primary purpose of these research trips, and which has generated the evolving data that underpins many of the specific studies in this volume. A summer field trip has taken us every year to a different part of France, exploring the collections of the French municipal libraries from the Pas de Calais to the côte d'Azur. The particular glories of these French municipal collections are celebrated in the first essay of this collection; here, my wish is to thank all of those who have shared my experience of these research trips. Pride of place must go to my wife, Jane, and my children Megan and Sophie, who have accompanied the St Andrews French Book project team in every one of our summer itineraries. Jane, in particular has performed a heroic role as principal provider for several generations of hungry bibliographers. If an army marches on its stomach, then a modern bibliographical team requires a more demanding sensitivity to the various and often conflicting culinary preferences of a food-aware generation. Jane's parents Don and Connie Ryan have also been stalwart fixtures on our summer expeditions, and have underwritten the work of the project in many ways. Those who worked with us included

St Andrews colleagues Christine and David Gascoigne, Karen Maag, now the Director of the Meeter Centre for Calvin Research and Pollie Bromilowe, of the University of Manchester. Bettye Chambers, Jonathan Reid and Emma Lorimer also held positions on the project, and did sterling work for us in London and Paris. Postgraduate students who participated, and often wrote their Ph.D. dissertations on cognate topics, included Joanna Schlesinger, Stuart Foster, Max von Habsburg, Philip Connor, Augustine Kelly, Luc Racaut, Alexandra Kess, Matthew Hall, Lauren Kim, Sara Barker, Philip John, Graeme Kemp and Marianne Stewart. Peter Truesdale, David Watson and Philip Vracas also offered their help, support and the pleasure of their company.

My first project manager, Paul Nelles, offered a model of careful and generous co-operation with French libraries that has stood the project in good stead since he moved to a position at Carlton University in Canada. His successor, Sandy Wilkinson, took in hand all the technical work of making the project ready for publication. It is certainly the case that we would not have achieved the quality of work we have presented in our published bibliography without his guiding influence. When Sandy left St Andrews to set up a new centre for Media Studies in University College, Dublin, his place was taken by Malcolm Walsby, who had already worked for the project for four years as our Project Co-ordinator in France. The project's debt to Malcolm is very considerable, as is mine; many of the insights in this book owe a great deal to his conversation and wide-ranging historical knowledge. It is a rare privilege of academic life, too infrequently acknowledged, that we are able to learn so much, over the course of many years, from people much younger than ourselves. All those named above have helped in the process of continuous intellectual renewal that has made this work so very enjoyable for me.

The Arts and Humanities Research Council have provided the financial underpinnings for this interpretative work through three successive major grants to the St Andrews French Book project team. I am very grateful to the anonymous academic assessors who have offered supportive but always probing reviews of our proposals, to the AHRC panellists, and to the staff of the AHRC for their great professionalism in their management of the practical aspects of the funding. We also owe a great debt to academic colleagues who have supported our applications, and the project. Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, Francis Higman, Jean-François Gilmont and Ian Archer have been good friends to the project throughout. Arjan van Dijk proposed the association with IDC/

Brill that has become the cornerstone of our publishing plans. And of course, this work would not have been possible without the exceptional generosity of the numerous library staff across France who have seen us descend on their libraries, requesting unreasonable numbers of books and electrical outlets for our computers. If they may breathe a sign of relief as the French project bibliography is finally published, I wish formally to express my gratitude for the care and tolerance of the many staff who had clearly never experienced anything quite like *l'équipe écossaise*. But they rose to the challenge; and they certainly provided us with a richness of working experience that owed much to their kindness and professionalism, and much to the extraordinary wealth and variety of the collections—and buildings—in which we worked.

<div align="right">

St Andrews
February 2007

</div>

LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PLACES OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATION

The articles in this book first appeared in the journals and volumes indicated below.

1. "Rare Books and Revolutionaries: The French Bibliothèques Municipales" Unpublished.
2. "A Provincial News Community in Sixteenth-Century Europe" In: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 33–48.
3. "Protestantism, Publication and the French Wars of Religion. The Case of Caen" In: Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow, *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late-Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 163–79.
4. "Protestant Printing during the French Wars of Religion. The Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain" In: Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Katherine G. Brady, Susan Karant-Nunn and James D. Tracy (eds.), *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman. Papers from the Symposium on His Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 109–29.
5. "Geneva Print and the Coming of the French Wars of Religion" Unpublished.
6. "France and the Netherlands. The Interlocking of Two Religious Cultures in Print during the Era of the Religious Wars" *Dutch Review of Church History—Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis. Volume* 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 318–37.
7. "French Books at the Frankfurt Fair" Unpublished.
8. "Emden as a Centre of the Sixteenth-Century Book Trade. A Catalogue of the Bookseller Gaspar Staphorst" *Quaerendo* 24, (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 114–35.
9. "Translation and the Migration of Text" Unpublished.
10. "The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration" (with Matthew Hall) *Historical Journal* 47/4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 785–808.
11. "The Growth of a Provincial Press in 16th-Century Europe" Unpublished.

12. "The Reception of Calvinism in Britain" In: Wilhelm H. Neuser
    and Brian G. Armstrong (eds.), *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex:*
    Calvin as Protector of Purer Religion (Kirksville, MO.: Truman State
    University Press, 1997), pp. 267–89.
13. "Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception" In: Peter
    Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*
    (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 157–79.

RARE BOOKS AND REVOLUTIONARIES:
THE FRENCH BIBLIOTHÈQUES MUNICIPALES

One of the greatest pleasures of ten years of work on sixteenth century French books has been the opportunity to explore the extraordinary riches of the French Bibliothèques Municipales. The Bibliothèques Municipales can be said without hint of exaggeration to be one of the great unknown treasures of the library world. If they were gathered together, instead of being scattered around metropolitan France, they would undoubtedly qualify for World Heritage status: collectively they comprise one of the greatest repositories of Renaissance and Enlightenment culture anywhere in the world. Yet this fabulous resource remains largely unknown outside the narrow range of specialists. Even in the French scholarly community the rare book collections of the Bibliothèques Municipales remain relatively under-used, the preserve very often of local specialists and regional societies. They receive far fewer visitors from outside the region than the more formally recognised Archives Départementales. Yet what they have to offer is often far more substantial, as members of the St Andrews book project team have had plentiful opportunities to experience.

The reason for this neglect lies partly in the utter singularity of the French experience of library formation. In every other part of the world where major collections of early printed books have been accumulated, it is universities, or the great national libraries, that hold the largest collections of rare books. This is true of Britain (reinforced by the local peculiarity of the Oxford and Cambridge College libraries), of Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and Italy. It is true also of the United States, where vast collections have been gathered through donation and systematic acquisition in the last one hundred and fifty years. Even here only a handful of private institutions and museums can rank alongside the great collections accumulated in university libraries. In almost all these countries the greatest, and certainly most diverse collection of early printed books is in the national library: the British Library in London, the Royal Library in The Hague, the Royal Library in Brussels, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Austrian National

Library in Vienna. Thereafter, with few exceptions, it is the university libraries that make the greatest contribution to our understanding of Renaissance book culture.

That France remains a shining exception to this rule is scarcely known in the wider academic community. French universities do not, on the whole, possess particularly valuable collections of rare books: this despite the large number of distinguished universities established in France from the mediaeval period onwards.[1] In contrast there are over 450 Bibliothèques Municipales in France that have an *ancien fonds*.[2] Some are modest in size, others quite huge. The small town of Châtillon-sur-Seine possesses over 30,000 sixteenth century books. The *ancien fonds* in Lyon is approximately half a million items.[3] In the course of its travels around France the St Andrews book project team recorded in these collections something over 30,000 different bibliographically distinct items published in the French vernacular in the sixteenth century: and these represent only a fraction of the total size of collections which are very substantially Latinate in character. These include many unique books, and many others not to be found in any Parisian collection—even in the formidable holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The search for the origins of the extraordinary riches of the Bibliothèques Municipales carries us back to one of the seminal events of French history: the French Revolution.[4] This is not without a certain irony, because the bitter ideological conflicts of these years seemed at one point likely

---

[1] Hastings Rashdall, rev. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (3 vols, Oxford, 1987), ii. 115–210. Of the 18 'French' universities listed there, two (Dôle and Besançon) were in the Burgundian territories of the Franche-Comté and two were in the independent territories of Avignon and Orange. The university of Grenoble was apparently defunct by the mid 15th century leaving 13 other mediaeval foundations: at Paris, Aix-en Provence, Angers, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Cahors, Montpellier, Nantes, Orléans, Poitiers, Toulouse and Valence.

[2] For more detailed statistics see http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/bibrep/pres.htm.

[3] A fine sketch of the holdings of the precious collections of France is provided by the series of volumes of the *Patrimoine des bibliothèques de France. Un guide des regions* (11 volumes, Paris, 1995). For Châtillon-sur-Seine, *Patrimoine*, 5, 80–81. Further details on the size and the development of the collections can often be found on the web-sites of the libraries in question. For Lyon, http://www.bm-lyon.fr/, *Patrimoine*, vol. 5, pp. 132–49.

[4] What follows is heavily indebted to Graham Keith Barnett, 'The History of public libraries in France from the Revolution to 1939' (Library Association Fellowship Thesis, 1973). Published in French as *Histoire des bibliothèques en France de la Révolution à 1939* (Paris, 1987).

to bring about the wholesale destruction of France's cultural treasures, among them the books from France's monastic, aristocratic and scholarly collections. This would have been an incalculable cultural tragedy, because in the two centuries before the Revolution France had played a distinguished part in the development of the public library. Indeed, reflecting on the evolution of library culture in Europe in the centuries after the Renaissance, many commentators would give France pride of place, both for the richness of its collections, and in the articulation of a concept of shared public provision for reading.[5]

As was the case in many other parts of Europe, many of the most distinguished collections were accumulated by religious foundations. During the eighteenth century a large number of these monastic libraries opened their doors to the public. Some of these collections were very considerable. The abbey of Ste-Geneviève in Paris had 60,000 volumes by 1789; St Germain-des-Près, which opened to the public in 1745, had 50,000. The scholarly community in the French capital were particularly well served, particularly those favoured individuals who had access to the 300,000 volumes of the royal collection. Many observers believed Paris boasted the best public collections in the world. But even in provincial towns local *érudits* could call on a formidable range and quality of library resources. There were five libraries open to the public in Orléans and four in Toulouse. In Bordeaux the collections of the three Franciscan orders, the Cordeliers, the Capuchins and the Recollects, numbered 8,000 books between them.[6] In Nantes the first library opened to the public (in 1753) was the library of the Oratorians, a collection of around 10,000 volumes. The suppression of the Jesuit order in 1762 resulted in several significant collections around France being opened to the public. The Jesuit library in Douai was the basis of a collection opened to the public in 1770. Reims took possession of some 8,000 volumes formerly owned by the Jesuits. In Lyon the former library of the Jesuits was opened to the public in 1765.[7] In Bordeaux, the Jesuit collection, incorporating the collection of the Collège de Guyenne, was a very considerable 24,325 volumes at the time of the suppression of the order.

---

[5] *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: 2. Les bibliothèques sous l'ancien regime, 1530–1789* (Paris, 1988).
[6] Louis Desgraves, *Le livre en Aquitaine XVe–XVIIIe siècles* (1998), chapter 3.
[7] *Patrimoine*, vol. 5, p. 133.

Alongside these providential windfalls, a number of towns around France had been able to open libraries for the local public as the result of specific gifts. In Troyes, Jacques Hennequin left his books to the local Franciscan monastery in 1651 on condition that they were made available to the public.[8] In 1745 M. de Inguimbert, Bishop of Carpentras, created a library in the town which now, as the municipal library, is still one of the most extraordinary collections in provincial France.[9] In 1786 Aix-en-Provence inherited the famous collection created by the Marquis de Méjanes, willed by him to his home province.[10]

The unusual riches of the libraries of France, and particularly the collections of the religious houses, attracted admiring comments from many contemporaries. But for the same reason they were unlikely to escape the more critical attention of those who took power in 1789 determined to sweep away many aspects of the *ancien régime*. On 2 November 1789 the Constituent Assembly claimed for the state the property of all religious houses in France. But it soon became clear that this was more than simply a punitive decree. Over the years that followed successive revolutionary regimes would in fact devote extraordinary care to re-shaping the cultural inheritance of pre-Revolutionary France; and in this endeavour books would play a critical role.

The determination to create an enlightened rational citizenry was close to the ideological heart of Revolutionary principles. It is necessary to bear this in mind when we consider the care, resources and attention devoted to the management of Revolutionary confiscations through all the convolutions and civil discord of the following years. The confiscations from the religious houses—to be followed by the seizure of émigré property and the books owned by learned societies—were from the beginning intended to make possible the creation of a network of town libraries. But there was far less clarity how this should be achieved. Early estimates suggested that the confiscated books might amount to 12 million volumes, all of which had to be inventorized, catalogued and then moved to their new homes.[11]

The task of co-ordinating this extraordinary enterprise was managed from Paris by a sequence of revolutionary committees, who could draw

---

[8] *Patrimoine*, vol. 3, p. 126.
[9] *Patrimoine*, vol. 6, pp. 66–67.
[10] Xavier Lavagne, 'Le Marquis de Méjanes et ses livres', *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, II, pp. 257–9.
[11] Barnett, 'History of the public libraries', p. 52.

on the advice of some eminent scholars and bibliophiles. But the burden of making these ambitious plans a reality necessarily fell on local authorities in the provinces, and here there was far less enthusiasm. This was partly because the harassed local administrations could simply not divert the necessary resources to securing and cataloguing the large collections of books that were now the property of the state. But there were also considerable misgivings about the potentially destructive consequences of the implementation of revolutionary principles. For it was swiftly made clear that not all of the books of the former monastic collections were to find a place in the new public libraries. These were to be collections useful and edifying to the public, comprising works of history, literature, philosophy and technical matters. 'Poisonous' books—that is books of theology, mysticism or those that supported the institutions of royalty (that would include many legal texts) were to be excluded.

The implementation of such a principle would have meant the disposal or destruction of a very large proportion of the former monastic collections, which are especially rich in legal, as well as religious texts. Some books were indeed destroyed: either burned, or sent to cartridge factories to be re-fashioned as munitions of war. Others were sent to be sold as waste paper by weight. But, as is immediately clear to any current user of the rare book collections of the Bibliothèques Municipales, the implementation of these radical principles was only very partial. Huge numbers of theological texts survived to form the bedrock of the current collections. The researchers of the St Andrews French book project have many reasons to be grateful for this. In the course of surveying over 200 municipal collections around France the St Andrews team found many examples of books that survive in only one copy, and which came into the possession of the Bibliothèques Municipales from the collections of the former religious houses. These include several examples of unique Protestant editions, carefully preserved by their monastic owners. Often such books would be inscribed on the title page, 'livre Huguenot et defendu' as a warning to the unwary reader.[12]

---

[12] *La bible en francoys* (Lyon, Pidie & Bacquenois, 1547). Rouanne BM, R fol 70: 'ceste bible est huguenote defendue de la lire sans licence des superieurs 1637'. *La Sainte Bible* (Lyon, Arnoullet, 1550). Lyon BM, Rés. 20075: 'Conventus ff. . . . Sti Andreae Lugdunensis . . . Bible defendue'. *Biblia Latinogallica* (Lyon, Honorat, 1575), Bayeux BM B6: 'Ex libris congregationis Missionis Domûs Bajocensis Catalogo inscriptus . . . Bible heretique'.

There were many reasons why these books were not indeed included
in the planned disposals. In some places books were simply spirited away
before the revolutionary commissioners could do their work, like the
consignment of books from Metz intercepted on its way to Toulouse.[13]
Some other books found their way onto the book market. In many cases
deliberate foot-dragging by local scholars and bibliophiles preserved
collections that were a source of local pride, irrespective of their now
disapproved contents. In Aix-en-Provence the work of cataloguing a
collection that included over 210,000 pamphlets was entrusted to the
librarian, Dr Jacques Giberlin. By omitting details of armorial bind-
ings that would have identified an aristocratic provenance Dr Giberlin
preserved many volumes from destruction. But for the most part the
collections of the former monastic houses survive simply because
the multiple tasks of confiscation and reorganisation overwhelmed
the resources of the civic authorities. By a decree of 27 January 1794
it became the responsibility of local districts to provide and furnish a
suitable building for a local public library. Often a considerable time
might elapse before such a building could be identified and made
ready. Meanwhile the confiscated books languished in depositories,
sometimes, ironically, established in former religious houses. Some of
the books from these depositories would indeed later be incorporated
into the collections of the public libraries, but many remained in this
temporary storage for years, even decades. Some, indeed, were still in
store to be returned to the church after Napoleon's concordat with the
Pope finally put an end to the Revolutionary confiscations.

In 1795 the plan for local town libraries was briefly superseded by
a decision to establish a new *école centrale* in each department, to which
the new libraries were to be attached. This plan was, if anything,
even more unpopular. Towns with established collections did not rel-
ish their resources being plundered in this way. For La Rochelle this
would have meant a collection willed to the town by a prominent local
citizen in 1750, and open to the public before the Revolution, being
sent to furnish the new *école centrale* at Saintes. In fact only 32 of the
proposed 108 *écoles centrale* were established in anything like the form
envisaged. In 1802 the *écoles centrale* were abandoned and replaced by
lyceés; the following year these collections were placed at the disposal
of the municipalities. Henceforth, after a flurry of controls, edicts and

---

[13] Barnett, 'History of the public libraries', p. 43.

reorganisations, the towns were largely left to fend for themselves. The Revolutionary attempt to secure a rational distribution of resources was at an end.

Nevertheless, by the time that the dust settled on the convulsions of the revolutionary era, much had been done to establish a network of public libraries around France. For all the missteps, false beginnings and unrealised ambitions of revolutionary policy, many towns around France possessed a library for the first time. Others had collections vastly enhanced as a result of revolutionary confiscations. In 1828 the civil servant J. L. A. Bailly was despatched to conduct the first of several national surveys of French library resources. His published report recorded a network of 189 municipal libraries outside Paris.[14] Although over half of these libraries were relatively small, with fewer than 10,000 books, the largest towns had formidable collections. The library at Lyon boasted 117,000 volumes, that of Bordeaux 111,000; Amiens had 40,000 books, and Marseille and Rouen both 50,000. These last three collections were all new foundations with the Revolution. In Troyes the existing collections had been enriched by the confiscated contents of the libraries of 20 religious communities, 14 condemned local citizens, and 15 emigrés. In 1790 the library of the Oratorians, which included the sixteenth century library of Pierre Pithou, was added to the library, to be followed in 1795 by the collection of Clairvaux.[15] In 1828 this all added up to a collection of 55,000 volumes.

This cultural patrimony was guarded and preserved with extraordinary care. The attached table, showing the largest collections in provincial France, as revealed by Bailly's survey of 1828, shows a close correspondence with the largest collections of sixteenth century books inspected by the St Andrews book project team. But the task of preserving and maintaining these cultural treasures could be a heavy burden. The collection that the town of Amiens inherited from the *école centrale* of the Somme department was moved several times before it found a permanent home in a new building built between 1823 and 1826: the first purpose built municipal library in France. Other towns chose to sell a portion of the stock in order to generate income, either to buy new books or simply to reduce the collection to a manageable size.

---

[14] J. L. A. Bailly, *Notices historiques sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes* (Paris, 1828).
[15] *Patrimoine*, vol. 3, pp. 129–30.

The collections at Poitiers, Reims and Carcassonne were all drastically reduced in this way. The town of Troyes held sales in 1824, but that still left 88,000 volumes in the depot inherited from the *école centrale*; as we have seen, only a portion of these books would find their way into the municipal library.

The nineteenth century witnessed, in France as elsewhere in Europe, a drive to broaden educational provision to the mass of the population. The 1833 Primary Education act was a further stimulus to the creation of new municipal libraries, and in some cases a foundational stock was sought from neglected Revolutionary deposits. Nevertheless, as the nineteenth century wore on, it was clear that the Revolutionary inheritance, however rich and exceptional in book historical terms, was in many respects a burden. From being a precocious centre of library culture in the eighteenth century, France drifted out of the mainstream of European developments. In some respects the libraries paid a heavy price for the failure to carry through the rational planning envisaged by the Revolutionary regime. The inheritance of a large number of valuable but largely unconsulted books became something of a millstone. The drive to mass literacy and mass education required a different sort of library. The failure of the Bibliothèques Municipales to adapt to these needs led instead to the creation of a separate tier of libraries catering to more popular texts. Between 1848 and 1870 the Bibliothèques Municipales were largely superseded in the popular consciousness by Bibliothèques Populaires, providing books for home reading, augmented by school libraries, which often also served the families of pupils. The Bibliothèques des villes became largely reference libraries, the haunt of the scholar, often starved of funds, restricted by their tradition of preservation and conservation, and their book-museum attitudes. In the words of one scholar, they became 'remote and irrelevant to the ordinary citizen.' Nor did this change in the last third of the century, a critical period in the development of a mass audience for new literature. Between 1871 and 1914 the Third Republic was largely preoccupied with the problem of Higher Education and the development of university libraries, and was therefore able to devote little attention to the Bibliothèques Municipales.

This failure to engage with dynamic developments in contemporary society continued into the twentieth century. In the standard history of French libraries the section dealing with the period 1914–1945 is headed 'le retard français'; it singles out for special comment 'la léth-

argie des bibliothèques municipales'.[16] In fairness it should be pointed out that the cultural problems inherited from the nineteenth century were in this period compounded by the challenges posed by the hugely destructive conflicts of the two world wars. In the war of 1914–1918, where much of the fighting took place on French soil, municipal libraries were destroyed across a wide swathe of northern France: at Saint-Quentin, Soissons, Compiège, Rethel, Noyon and Pont-à-Mousson. The important collections at Arras and Verdun both suffered severe damage. The German invasion and occupation of 1940–44 brought new destruction.[17] The library of Beauvais was completely destroyed by German bombing, as was the Bibliothèque Municipale of Tours, a collection of 200,000 volumes including 400 incunabula. The campaign of the liberation also took a heavy toll of the French patrimony. The important library of Chartres, with 135,000 volumes, was destroyed by American bombing in June 1944, while the municipal library of Dieppe was destroyed by retreating German troops the day before the town's liberation on 30 August 1944. In all some 59 buildings were seriously damaged, and 29 completely destroyed. In addition, many libraries whose buildings survived unscathed suffered serious damage to books from the rudimentary conditions pertaining in the places to which they had been evacuated. More than a million books had been plundered, and carried off, mostly to Germany. These had to be traced and returned, a task that took more than five years.

The damage suffered by French library collections in the two world wars was nothing like as severe as that faced by the German library community, where over 1000 towns had been seriously damaged or completed destroyed. Despite efforts to carry the most important collections off to places of safety, German libraries lost over a third of their total stock in the bombing campaign of 1943–5. Nevertheless, French libraries still faced a major task of restitution and rebuilding, even before they began to consider the challenges of the transformed landscape of the late twentieth century. In the post-war period French libraries still faced the problem of preserving a unique cultural heritage

---

[16] *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: 4. Les bibliothèques au XXe siècle, 1914–1990* (Paris, 1992).
[17] Marie Kühlmann, 'La seconde guerre mondiale: Les bibliothèques dans le tormente', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: 4. Les bibliothèques au XXe siècle*, pp. 224–242, 333.

which remained largely irrelevant to the mass of its users. A report of
1945 concluded that the Bibliothèques Municipales had become 'veri-
table museums' content to conserve the collections they had assembled
without the least concern for the needs of the local inhabitants. In
July 1967 *Le Monde* ran a series of articles on 'libraries without read-
ers'. These set the Bibliothèques Municipales the challenging target of
attaining the levels reached by English libraries: in 1908.

This was, however, to overstate the case; the three decades after 1945
did in fact witness a period of fundamental, if unspectacular change in
the management of the Bibliothèques Municipales, which amounted
in sum to a complete reorientation of their mission. They had begun,
for instance, to cater for the first time seriously for children. Although
the first children's libraries were not opened in France until 1924, by
1969 children between the ages of 5 and 14 represented 32% of all
borrowings from the Bibliothèques Municipales (as against 17% of the
population). This was the first stage of a transformation which, after
1975, gathered pace in a quite spectacular way. The cumulative effect,
thirty years later, is a re-invention of the concept of public access to
media resources every bit as radical as that envisaged by the visionaries
of the French Revolution.

In this era the French Bibliothèques Municipales embraced new
media, offered new services, and found a new public. In fifteen years
between 1974 and 1989 the number of Bibliothèques Municipales in
France almost doubled: from 804 to 1581. Many of these new libraries
were suburban satellites to the main town library, but many cities also
embarked on ambitious plans to create new buildings more suited to
the new range of functions offered in the library space. Lyon showed
the way, with the opening of the Bibliothèque Part-Dieu in 1972. The
new building at Metz in 1977 was the first to style itself Médiathèque,
reflecting the changing nature of its functions and the resources on
offer. New Médiathèques were opened at Nantes in 1985, at Le Mans
in 1988, and at Bordeaux in 1991. In Aix-en-Provence the Bibliothèque
Méjanes was in 1989 transferred to the new Cité du Livre, an imagi-
native project on the site a former match factory.[18] For those who
know only the constant battles in Britain between elected municipal
authorities and outraged citizens to preserve libraries from closure,
the sums expended on these projects are sometimes breathtaking. But

---

[18] http://www.citedulivre-aix.com/.

many French cities have been prepared to conceive their new library as a focus of local pride and prestige. In Nîmes the new Médiathèque, designed by Foster and Partners in 1993 is a visionary piece of modern architecture which blends seamlessly with the nearby Roman remains.[19] These beautiful state of the art facilities are often a consequence of local initiative, though the French state has also been prepared to give its support to the construction of a network of modern public libraries. A law of 13 July 1992 made provision for the construction of twelve *Bibliothèques Municipales à vocation régionale*: new or enhanced facilities in major regional centres of population, with 40% of the necessary finance provided by central government.[20]

This renovation of the building stock continues, with new libraries opened at Troyes and Montpellier in the last five years, and a new building due to be opened at Rennes imminently.[21] But the transformation of French libraries is also an internal and mental one. Even libraries that have remained in their old building have often completely redesigned their interior space. By 1989 nearly 500 French municipal libraries had opened a Discothèque, with a record library, now superseded by CDs and DVDs. Most offer internet access.

The undoubted success of this wholesale review of the role and facilities of the French Bibliothèques Municipales can be measured in the gratifying statistics of library use gathered by CREDOC: the Centre de Recherche pour l'Etude et l'Observation des Conditions de Vie. In the fifteen years after 1989 the number of those over the age of fifteen formally registered as users of the Bibliothèques Municipales has doubled: from five to ten million.[22] The Bibliothèques Municipales, against all the other claims on leisure time in the internet age, have succeeded in re-establishing their place in everyday cultural life. But the additional use made of library facilities, though gratifying in itself, has inevitably had certain consequences for the users of the *ancien fonds*.

---

[19] *Architectural Review*, July 1993.

[20] Marion Lorius and Thierry Grognet, 'Les bibliothèques municipales à vocation régionale: Du mythe à la réalité', *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France*, 2000, 3, pp. 17–24. Fritzinger, A.-C., 'Bibliothèque municipale à vocation régionale (BMVR): histoire et contexte d'un projet—L'exemple de la future bibliothèque publique de Marseille' (Lisbon, 2002): http://www.citidep.pt/papers/acf/acfbnt.html. Sabrina Le Bris, 'Les bibliothèques municipales à vocation régionale: Quelles missions?', *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France*, 1997, 6, pp. 34–38.

[21] http://www.bm.nantes.fr/.

[22] Bruno Maresca, 'La frequentation des bibliothèques', in *CREDOC, Consommation et Modes de Vie*, 193 (May 2006).

Just as the Bibliothèques Municipales were once condemned for their irrelevance to the cultural lives of the local populations, so the collections of old books—that must still be conserved and maintained—are no longer central to the mission of the new Médiathèques. Across France libraries have adapted to these dilemmas in very different ways. Some have chosen to retain their old premises as a *bibliothèque d'étude* catering to specialist users of the historic collection while building more modern premises for the general user. This has certain advantages for visiting scholars, since they work in clearly dedicated space, but is potentially expensive and cumbersome in terms of staff time, and possible duplication of resources. It is expensive, and therefore often impossible, to maintain a strong reference collection in both the *bibliothèque d'étude* and the new Médiathèque. Most libraries have chosen instead to create a dedicated rare book reading room or *patrimoine* in the new Médiathèque, often with quite spectacular results. No-one could work in the *patrimoine* of the Médiathèque at La Rochelle, with its wonderful view of the old harbour, without being imbued with some of the pride Rochellois feel in their cultural heritage. Of course many smaller towns lack the resources either for new buildings or to staff a separate rare book reading room, although they may still have very considerable collections of old books. In these cases rare books from the *ancien fonds* are perforce delivered to the normal reading room, where scholars compete for space with regular users and the ubiquitous pensioners and war veterans come to read *L'Equipe* or *Paris Match*. Once one has conquered one's conservation scruples, this is a working experience that has a certain special charm, particularly when regular readers stop by to inspect this exotic intrusion into their customary reading routine. Often the St Andrews project team has worked in small nooks, wedged between the children's library and the Discothèque, viewing books of great value and often considerable local significance. In a number of libraries we have been permitted to work in the actual stacks: sometimes this has been the only way to work our way through an uncatalogued collection. Such an experience invariably turns up unknown items, though for historic resonance it can hardly match the atmosphere of the spectacular Chapter collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Noyon, still housed in the wooden, lean-to structure attached to the Cathedral built to accommodate the library in Calvin's time. In one very small library I was simply directed up a spiral staircase to the attic, where the older books were housed. While my children played in the *coin enfant* below, I worked my way

round the shelves. I found only four sixteenth century books, but one was a previously unknown impression of Plutarch.

The high incidence of rare, and often unique, items in these smallest collections has been a remarkable feature of all our searches. Perhaps it is less surprising than it first appears. While the most common surviving sixteenth century books are very common indeed—for some we have registered over one hundred surviving copies—more than half of the 52,000 bibliographically distinct times registered in our bibliography *French Vernacular Books* survive in fewer than four copies. More than five thousand items survive in only one copy: many have no doubt been lost altogether.[23] These rare items included many examples of the ephemeral regional print that tend to survive, if at all, in municipal libraries (or in the case of broadsheets, archives), often close to the place of first publication.[24] The Bibliothèques Municipales are also rich in other, more substantial books with strong local associations, books by local authors, or local legal textbooks and coutumiers. The Bibliothèque Municipale of Sens possesses, in a collection of only one hundred sixteenth century French items, no fewer than three copies of the local coutumier. One is a beautiful presentation copy on vellum hand illuminated for Henry II, and there are two working copies, one interleaved and copiously annotated with the decisions of the local municipal authorities.[25] Thus even the collections made up largely of the unvarying staples of these municipal collections, histories, legal texts and collections of ordinances, offer fascinating information about their original owners, and the uses to which such books were put in sixteenth-century urban society.[26]

---

[23] For reflections on these lost books see chapters seven and eleven in this collection.

[24] Chapters three and eleven, below.

[25] *Coustumes du bailliage de Sens et anciens ressorts d'iceluy* (Sens, Richebois, 1552). Sens BM: Rés. MS 239 (presentation copy to Henry II), Rés. XVI m 6 (interleaved copy), Rés. XVI m 7 (1).

[26] On this issue see especially A Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise du XVIe siècle. L'enseignement des inventaires après décès du XVIe siècle (1503–1576)* (Paris and Louvain, 1971). A. H. Schutz, *Vernacular books in Parisian private libraries of the sixteenth century* (Chapel Hill, 1955). It may be noted, however, that most work on readership is based largely on inventories of private collections, rather than manuscript notes of provenance in books now in public collections. The comprehensive survey of the collections of the Bibliothèques Municipales undertaken by the St Andrews French book project team will allow for the first time the reconstruction of a number of significant dispersed collections in addition to identifying owners whose books have remained close to home.

It is noteworthy that despite the special burdens placed on local bud-
gets by the maintenance of this cultural inheritance, few municipali-
ties have sought to pass over the burden of custodianship to a local
government archive or university library.[27] Such a rationalization would
be in many respects logical. But in the peculiar circumstances of the
French Bibliothèques Municipales it would also represent a real impov-
erishment of a unique cultural heritage. For the scholar, the dispersal
of rare texts among libraries often geographically distant and with
irregular opening hours may initially be a source of frustration. But for
the scholarly community as a whole the survival of this multitude of
smaller specialist collections holds very real benefits. The dispersal of
collections of rare books among a large number of libraries requires,
in turn, the maintenance of a far larger cadre of trained conserva-
teurs and rare book librarians, a need supplied in France by specialist
training programmes run by the venerable Ecole des Chartes and the
more recently founded national library school, ENSSIB. And it is hard
to doubt that books that otherwise might simply be absorbed into the
stock of the largest collections, and forgotten, are not more cherished
in libraries where they are among the rarest treasures. The existence of
these local *ancien fonds* also act as a focus for the activities of regional
and municipal scholarly societies, and as a magnet for donations. Far
from allowing their rare book collections to atrophy or be dispersed,
many of these collections have been significantly enhanced in recent
years, either by the accession of significant donated collections, or by
purchase. Many libraries are still actively building their collections of
rare books, with especial attention to books published in their own
region or locality. Among many examples we could cite the purchase
of local Brittany printing by the Bibliothèque Municipale in Rennes,
and the very recent acquisition of a unique example of Verdun print-
ing in the municipal library of that town.[28]

Thanks to these purchases, and careful conservation of a local cul-
tural inheritance, municipal libraries are the largest holders of examples
of French regional print from the sixteenth century. These are often
extremely rare books, since the local provincial presses of France often
dealt largely in small books or pamphlets, a class of books which suffered
a particularly high rate of attrition, since it was scarcely ever systemati-

---

[27] A rare exception is the rare book collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale in
Agen, now housed in the local Archives Départementales.

[28] *Declaration de Mr de la Noue sur la prise des armes* (Verdun, Mathurin Marchant, 1588).
Verdun BM: Rés. 2294.

cally collected in the larger, more august libraries. Since, during the course of the sixteenth century, over one hundred French towns are known to have had an operational printing press at some point, these regional presses play a vital role in the story of French print—a story, which until this point has hardly systematically been told.[29]

The St Andrews French project team on its travels around France has almost invariably found the staff of the local Bibliothèques Municipales eager that their holdings be better known, and more widely used. Undoubtedly the neglect of the Bibliothèques Municipales is partly due to the absence of a reliable composite catalogue, which would allow the location of a particular text to be rapidly identified. The publication during the course of 2007 of a first full listing of sixteenth century French vernacular books should go some way towards making good this deficiency.[30] It is to be hoped that one consequence will be to increase public knowledge of the French Bibliothèques Municipales: a unique part of the world's cultural heritage, as well as a quite exceptional working experience for the interested scholar.

Fig. 1.1   Collections of the largest Bibliothèques Municipales in 1828.

Lyon	117,000
Bordeaux	111,000
Aix-en-Provence	80,000
Strasbourg	60,000
Besançon	55,000
Troyes	55,000
Toulon	51,000
Marseille	50,000
Rouen	50,000
Le Mans	44,000
Grenoble	43,000
Versailles	42,000
Dijon	41,000
Amiens	40,000
Caen	40,000

Source: J. L. A. Bailly, *Notices historiques sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes* (Paris, 1828).

---

[29] See chapters two, three, four and eleven in this volume.
[30] Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

19. Ventôse 2

DÉCRET

DE LA

CONVENTION NATIONALE,

N.° 2162.

Du 8.° jour de Pluviôse, an second de la République Française,
une & indivisible,

*Relatif à l'Établissement de Bibliothèques publiques
dans les Districts.*

LA CONVENTION NATIONALE, après avoir entendu
le rapport du comité d'instruction publique, décrète :

ARTICLE PREMIER.

Aussitôt après la publication du présent décret, les
administrations de district, en conséquence des instructions
ci-jointes, feront dresser un récolement des inventaires
qu'elles ont dû faire des livres & manuscrits des ci-devant
corps & communautés ecclésiastiques, & de ceux qu'elles
font tenues de faire encore des livres des émigrés ainsi que
des condamnés dont les biens font confisqués; ensemble des
objets d'histoire naturelle, des instrumens de physique,
& mécanique, des antiques, médailles, pierres gravées,
tableaux, dessins, gravures, plans, cartes & autres monumens
des arts & d'instruction qui leur appartenoient, en feront
parvenir une copie au département, & une autre au comité
d'instruction publique.

II.

Les administrations de district proposeront parmi les

Fig. 1.2   Revolutionary decree of 1794

PART I

PAMPHLETS AND THEIR READERS

A PROVINCIAL NEWS COMMUNITY IN
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

In recent years scholars have devoted increasing attention to the nature—or even the viability—of public opinion in sixteenth-century Europe. The received opinion that the operation of public opinion would necessarily await the emergence of a Habermasian 'public sphere' in the eighteenth century looks increasingly threadbare.[1] The thirst for information long pre-dated the invention of the coffee-shop in Georgian England, and nowhere more so than in the thriving, bustling cities of Italy, Germany France and the Netherlands.

In Europe's centres of commerce and trade information was at a premium for quite obvious reasons. Merchants had to know whether roads were safe, and whether changes in the ruling personnel of lands near or distant threatened carefully nurtured business relationship. But the appetite for news clearly went beyond this. Not only was marketplace opinion informed, it clearly occurred to those in power to devote care and attention to shaping this opinion. In this way a news community shaded into what can truly be regarded as nascent public opinion.

Two aspects of this phenomenon have particularly interested scholars in several disciples. The first is the way in which the articulation of information on current affairs helped shape a changing sense of identity. Early modern societies inherited a sense of identity that was profoundly local. Citizens might feel a generalised sense of themselves as part of larger national communities, particularly in time of war, but their primary points of identification were more specific: to kin, to their lord, to their parish or guild, to their city. One of Alastair Duke's most influential essays has been his discussion of the extent to which Dutch Revolt involved a complex process of negotiation with pre-existing senses of identity before a notion of nationhood could coalesce around

---

[1] Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Darmstadt, 1986); translated into English as *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge, 1989).

an independent northern state.[2] In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, a
sense of national identity had also to compete with new, super-national
identities in a religiously divided Europe. In a Europe of Catholics and
Protestants, with whom did one enjoy true kinship?

For the rulers of these complex societies it was especially important
to be seen as a personification or incarnation of an emerging national
identity. Yet regality had also to respect the complexity of allegiance.
This was of true of a ruler's relationship with his cities as with his lead-
ing nobles. In the urban context the greatest contemporary expression
of this complex relationship was the *joyeuse entrée*, a ceremonial event at
which a ruler took symbolic possession of the city, while simultaneously
promising to respect its liberties.[3] The essence of kingship was encap-
sulated in these dignified events: the assertion and acknowledgement of
might and theoretically untrammelled power, balanced by recognition
that effective rule was always necessarily co-operative. Citizens had
simultaneously to be awed and persuaded. A community of interest
was an active, participatory community, even if expressed in a rhetoric
of deference and power.

In sixteenth-century societies the exercise of power was always per-
suasive; agreement must be cultivated, even where duty was formally
commanded. In this context, a number of scholars, including Alastair
Duke, have recently begun to pay particular attention to the role of
print in shaping an active, politically aware and co-operative public:
and the consequences for the body public when this co-operation began
to break down.[4] The development of such a literature of persuasion
and dissent is all the more striking because in the sixteenth century
print was not necessarily the primary mechanism for the circulation of
official information. Laws, regulations and ordinances would tradition-
ally be relayed by word of mouth, and this process continued into the
sixteenth century. In France the oral publication of official edicts took on

---

[2] Alastair Duke, 'From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and treason
in the Revolt of the Netherlands, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 32
(1982), pp. 113–35, reprinted in his *Reformation and revolt in the Low Countries* (London,
1990), pp. 175–197.

[3] Joël Blanchard, 'Les spectacles du rite: les entrées royales', *Revue historique*, 305/3
(2003), pp. 475–519 has a full bibliography on this subject.

[4] Duke, Alastair. 'Dissident propaganda and political organisation at the outbreak
of the Revolt of the Netherlands', in Philip Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt
and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585* (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 115–132;
Id., 'Posters, pamphlets and printers. The ways and means of disseminating dissident
opinion on the eve of the Dutch Revolt', *Dutch Crossing*, 27 (2003), pp. 23–44.

an increasingly ritualised character. In Paris edicts were first registered in the Parlement of Paris and then declaimed by the official crier at designated cross-roads and public places. The crier was accompanied by the royal trumpeter; for edicts of special importance several trumpeters were decreed.[5] From Paris edicts radiated out into the provinces, to Lyon, Orléans, and eventually Toulouse and Bordeaux, to be first received and digested by the town council, before a modest replica of the Paris ceremony was enacted for the local public.

Such official edicts lay at the heart of royal administration and one can chart the increased ambition of government—both in terms of scope of government activity and its reach into the provinces—through the printed versions that followed the oral proclamation. The right to print edicts was a privilege much prized in the publishing industry, because the profits were both swift and sure.[6] Edicts were purchased, individually or in collections, in large numbers, no doubt largely by lawyers and merchants who needed for professional and economic reasons to be precisely aware of their provisions. Yet even in this era the authorities' use of print went far beyond the exploitation of the new medium solely for the publication of official orders. Governments were concerned also to shape the way in which current events were discussed and interpreted. Nowhere was this more the case than in the volatile and independently-minded towns of France and the Netherlands. Here, even in the last decades of the fifteenth century, one can witness a precocious battle to command public sympathy, as the French and Burgundian regimes promoted conflicting visions of current events.[7]

---

[5] In an edict of 1556 the places in which an edict would be proclaimed (accompanied by the royal trumpeters) were listed as follows: devant la principale porte du Palais; a l'apport de Paris devant Chastelet; a la croix du Trehoir aux Halles; a l'apport Baudoyer; plac de Greve devant l'hostel de la ville au Carrefour sainct Severin; a la place Maubert pres la crois des Carmes; au carrefour du mont saincte Geneviefve pres le puis; rue sainct Jacques devant les Jacobins, & au bout du pont sainct Michel. Ordonnance du Roy & de sa || Court des Monnoyes, contenant les || prix & poix, tant des monnoyes de Fran || ce qu'estrangeres, d'Or & d'Argent, aus- || quelles ledict Seigneur à dõné cours || en son royaume, pays, terres & || seigneuries de son o- || beissance [Lyon, du Rosne, 1556]. Avignon BM: 8o 14528.

[6] In France the right to print royal edicts was held by a sequence of respected figures in the publishing industry, including Guillaume Nyverd and Féderic Morel, both of whom proclaimed their privileged status by styling themselves 'imprimeur ordinaire du roy' on the title page of royal edicts.

[7] Jean-Pierre Seguin, 'L'information à la fin du XVe siècle en France. Pièces d'actualité imprimées sous le règne de Charles VIII', *Arts et traditions populaires*, 4 (1956), pp. 309–330, 5 (1957), pp. 46–74 and his *L'Information en France de Louis XII a Henri II* (Geneva, 1961).

These are books that emanated quite clearly from close to the seat
of power. In their physical appearance they appropriate the confident
quarto format of the official edicts of the day; bibliographically they
are neat, assured and technically sophisticated works, often published
by printers whose more usual stock in trade were large and expensive
books. They were intended to be read by people who were among the
shapers of opinion in the towns of France and the Netherlands: this
was cheap print for men who were the habitual purchasers of more
expensive books. Yet thus far no-one has been able to document the
existence of an equivalent provincial news community, beyond the rou-
tine (if still influential) publication and proclamation of official edicts.

That must now change with the investigation of a remarkable survival,
recently rediscovered in the collections of the Bibliothèque Municipale
(the Bibliothèque Méjanes) of Aix-en-Provence.[8] The Bibliothèque
Méjanes is one of the great libraries of provincial France, a collection
of vernacular and learned literature assembled in the eighteenth century,
but reaching back into the first age of printing. Although it contains
very many magnificent books, its greatest strength lies in the thousands
of items of printed ephemera, mostly pamphlets from the French Wars
of Religion and even, as we shall now see, from an earlier era.

On a recent research trip I had occasion to examine one item,
ostensibly a group of three small pamphlets. In fact the *recueil* contained
some thirty three items, two thirds of them books published in Rouen
in the early 1540s. Many were previously totally unknown: more than
half represent the only surviving copy of the book in question.

There are good reasons why these books should previously have
escaped the attention of bibliographers. The largest survey of French
provincial printing, the *Répertoire Bibliographique*, was constructed by
delegating individual volumes, devoted each to a single printing centre
or group of towns within a region, to local specialists.[9] The individual
volumes vary in quality, but by and large the editors concentrated their
searches on a survey of the major Paris collections and libraries in
their own vicinity. Books printed in one part of France but presently
located in another distant provincial collection could quite easily slip

---

[8] Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rés. S 25.
[9] *Répertoire Bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle* (30 vols., Baden-
Baden, 1968–1980). Rouen and Caen, were reserved for a separate set of subsidia
volumes (also incomplete). Pierre Aquilon & Alain R. Girard, *Bibliographie normande.*
Bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle (Baden-Baden, 1992).

through the net, as was the case with the Rouen books in this volume in Aix. A number of the titles listed were at least known to the greatest twentieth century expert on ephemeral news publications, Jean-Pierre Seguin, but based as he was in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris he too was clearly unaware of the collection in Aix.[10] The present article therefore represents the first systematic examination of this unique body of material.

The Aix recueil contains thirty-three items, around two thirds of which were printed in Rouen in a short eight year period between 1537 and 1544. Even on a most cursory examination it is clear that they are very different in character from the confident, relatively fine work of the Parisian and Netherlandish news sheets of the incunabula age. The Rouen books are small octavos of around 12 centimetres, mostly four or eight leaves long (that is eight or sixteen printed pages). The Rouen items in the collection are almost all unpaginated, and lack even the customary bibliographic signature in the bottom margin. They are all printed in a crude black letter type with a single and equally crude title-page woodcut by way of decoration. These illustrative woodcuts are mostly of battle or tournament scenes and are extremely crudely drawn; several are reused more than once in the pamphlet sequence.

These then are the most ephemeral of ephemeral books. Seldom more than one printed sheet in length, they could have been dashed out and on sale in less than two days. They required no great expertise to produce, and could indeed have been the work of an artisan printer relatively new to the trade—as seems indeed to have been the case. They served a specific purpose in a specific community at a time of peculiarly heightened awareness of public affairs.

Rouen in the 1540s was a bustling, mercantile city of around 70,000 inhabitants.[11] Despite the growth of Lyon in the first half of the century, it could still with justice defend its long-standing claim to be the second city of the kingdom. In the prosperous and populous province of Normandy it jealously defended its role as provincial metropolis; Rouen was the seat of both the local Parlement and the home of the

[10] Seguin, *L'Information en France*, nos. 152, 154, 155, 156a, 159, 160–3, 166, 170, 172, 177, 180, 187–188, 192, 193, 195, 204, 211, 215, 218.

[11] For Rouen, see Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981); Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion. The Guise affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998).

local royal administration. This defined its civic life, but its commercial life was also shaped by its relative proximity to Paris. Although Rouen was one of the greatest cities of the kingdom its book world was largely a satellite of the capital. The local printing industry was small compared, for instance, to the magnificence of Lyon's well-established publishing houses, a crucial two hundred kilometres more distant from the magnetic pull of the capital.[12]

In consequence the indigenous printing industry of Rouen was small and provincial, concentrating on repeated editions of the most popular books, mostly school books and church primers. If Rouen had developed a specialism it was to service a lively export market for standard church text (Books of Hours and Breviaries) destined for England.[13] To meet the requirements of more aspirational and wealthy local customers Rouen booksellers turned to the great centres of print in northern and southern Europe: most obviously Paris, but also Antwerp, Venice and Basle. The market for vernacular books seems to have been too small to justify any local reprints of popular French recreational literature, such as the farces and romances that were already steady sellers for many Parisian printers. Still less was there a demand for local editions of edicts or news pamphlets, a market that once again could be fully supplied from Paris, one day's journey up river.

This seems to have changed very suddenly in the years between 1538 and 1544. These, it must be remembered, were exceptionally turbulent times in European politics, and especially in the complex triangular relationship between France, England, and the rulers of the Habsburg lands.[14] The resumption of the seemingly inevitable conflict between

---

[12] For Lyon printing see Baudrier, H.-L. and Baudrier, J., *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIᵉ siècle* (12 vols., Lyon, 1895–1921). The latest survey of Lyon printing, however, conducted as part of the St Andrews French book project, adds something like a further 30% of items not known to Baudrier to the corpus of Lyon print. Matthew Hall, 'Lyon publishing in the age of Catholic revival, 1565–1600' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, St Andrews University, 2005). On the role of printing in the Lyon economy see Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIᵉ siècle. Lyon et ses marchands* (Paris, 1971).

[13] Aquilon & Girard, *Bibliographie normande*. Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of printed books into England and Scotland', in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. vol. III: 1400–1557* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 179–201.

[14] The best account of these events is to be found in *Les memoires de messire Martin du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1586). See also Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*; vol. V: Henry Lemonnier, *La lutte contre la maison d'Autriche. La France sous Henri II (1519–1559)* (Paris, 1904). R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge, 1982).

Francis I and the Emperor Charles V in 1536 followed a period of febrile, at time frantic search for diplomatic advantage. At one time in the mid 1530s French ambassadors pursued the search for allies simultaneously in England, with the Lutheran Protestant princes in Germany, and, more scandalously, at the court of Barbarossa, the corsair prince of Tunis. This last overture would result, in 1536, in the first formal treaty between France and the Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople. Despite this wide-ranging search for allies, when Francis renewed conflict with a thrust into Piedmont and Savoy, France found itself relatively isolated, and Imperial forces soon turned the tables with incursions onto French soil from both north and south. The Emperor's armies were eventually obliged to withdraw, but only after the depredations of the armies had caused great hardship to the local populations. After two seasons of indecisive campaigning both sides were happy to accept an offer of the Pope, Paul III, to preside in person over negotiations between the quarrelling parties at Nice, and a peace was duly concluded. A month later, on 14 July 1538, Charles and Francis were personally reconciled at a meeting at Aigues-Mortes. When, the following year, the Emperor needed to return to the Netherlands to deal with the aftermath of the rebellion at Ghent, he sought and obtained from Francis permission to travel across French territory.

The Emperor's progress across French territory and lavish reception at Paris were regarded with astonishment in other European capitals, yet the reconciliation between Europe's two premier monarchs proved to be of short duration. The new amity with Charles inevitably caused the greatest suspicions elsewhere in Europe; to insulate France against a possible deterioration of relations with other former allies diplomatic emissaries embarked on a new round of embassies to Venice and the Ottoman Turk. Meanwhile the marital adventures of Henry VIII of England briefly raised the possibility of a new French bride for the English King. But it was the Imperial rivalry over Italy which would precipitate a new round of fighting, sparked by the mysterious assassination of a French diplomat, apparently at the hands of imperial troops. War was declared on 12 July 1542, but Francis was unable to find a strategically coherent means to carry the fight to the enemy. When in 1543 the Emperor concluded an offensive alliance with a revitalised Henry of England, it was clear that the major theatre of conflict would be in the north, and the fighting on French soil.

For the inhabitants of Normandy there was a pressing need to keep abreast of these events, many being played out close to its shores, or in

areas crucial to the trade and prosperity of Rouen's merchant traders. This provided an opportunity to a venturesome individual previously unknown to the publishing trade, Jean L'Homme. Little is known of L'Homme beyond his responsibility for the works that bear his name; he had no apparent history or family connection in Rouen's book world, and his period of activity was exceptionally short. But in this short period he developed a valuable, and clearly exceptionally valued, specialism. In six years between 1538 and 1544 he turned out at least forty news pamphlets, almost all of which are known from only one surviving copy. This of course raises the possibility that there may have been many others, now completely lost.

The items in the Aix *recueil* offer a fair representative sample of his work. The earliest date from the period 1538–1540, and relate the curious history of the meetings between Francis, the Emperor and the Pope at the time of the Treaty of Nice, and of the Emperor's subsequent progress through France.[15] Charles's route took him to Paris from Bordeaux and via Poitiers; after taking leave of his royal host he travelled on through Chantilly and Soissons, before passing on to Imperial territory at Valenciennes. These events certainly piqued the interest of France's reading public. The entries into Orléans and Paris were the subject of several accounts published in the capital, and the main Paris entry even found its echo in the publications of another modest provincial press in far away Toulouse.[16] The fact that L'Homme chose to publish an account of the Emperor's entry into Valenciennes rather than the more sensational events in Paris may support the view that there were other accounts of the Emperor's journey, now lost.[17]

---

[15] ¶ Le tri~uphant || departement de nostre sainct pere le || Pape/ Du treschrestien Roy de Frã= || ce/ & de Lempereur de Romme/ auec || les grans dons & presens ~q le~d empe= || reur a faict a la Royne de France/ et || aux aultres dames & damoyselles. || ¶ Cum gratia & priuilegio. [Rouen, L'Homme, 1538]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (23).

[16] *La double et copie dunes letters envoyees d'Orleans contenant a la verite le triumphe faict a lentree et reception de lempereur* [Paris, Corrozet, 1540]. *La magnificque et triumphante entrée du tres illustre et sacre Empereur faicte en la excellent ville et cite de Paris. Inventaire chronologique des editions parisiennes du XVIᵉ siècle. V, 1536–1540* (Paris, 2004), nos. 1722–5. For the Toulouse work see Jean d'Abundance, *Prosopopeïe de la France à l'empereur Charles le Quint sur la nouuelle entrée faite à Paris.* [Toulouse, Nicolas Viellard, 1540]. This book is known only from an entry in the bibliography of du Verdier. See *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 20, Vieillard no. 53. See also Claude Chappuys, *La complainte de Mars sur la venue de l'empereur en France* [Paris, 1540], *Inventaire*, V. 1634.

[17] ¶ La triumpha= || te & magnificque entree de Lempereur || Charles tousiours Auguste cin= || quiesme de ce nom/ acompai= || gne de messeigneurs le Daul ||

But the Valenciennes entry was also a significant moment. It was the point at which Charles took leave of his honour guard, which included Francis I's two sons; it was also at Valenciennes that Charles first met a delegation from the uneasily repentant Ghent rebels. L'Homme's relation of these events is one of the few works in the Aix *recueil* that survives in more than one copy; but on closer inspection, the two copies turn out to be quite separate editions. The Aix copy notes in the colophon that it was published on 15 March; the only other surviving copy, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, was published five days later, on 20 March.[18] Nothing illustrates the thirst for information more eloquently than the fact that Jean L'Homme's first edition apparently sold out within a week.

The appetite for news in Rouen was such that Jean L'Homme could not hope to monopolise the production of these short news pamphlets. The most substantial competition came from Guillaume de La Motte, who in 1537 had published a short and rather more conventional pamphlet, a lamentation by Gilles Corrozet of the passing of Madeleine de France, first wife of James V of Scotland.[19] La Motte also published his own contribution to the literature generated by Charles V's French progress, a celebratory oration of the Court author Claude Chappuys.[20] But it was L'Homme who secured the prestigious task of publishing the official declaration of war in 1542. This was one of the frequently issued works in the Aix *recueil*. It was published first in Paris by Poncet Le Preux, and then in at least three other locations around France: at Troyes, Lyon (in at least two editions) and at Rouen.[21] Once again

phin de France & duc Dor || leans/ en sa ville de || Valentiennes [three dots] || M. D. XXXIX. || [Rouen, L'Homme, 1540]. C4v: ¶ Jmprime a Rouen par Jehan lhomme. || Le quinztesme iour de Mars Mil cinq c~es. || trente neuf. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (24).

[18] ¶ La triumphã= || te & magnificque entree de Lempereur || Charles tousiours Auguste cin= || quiesme de ce nom/ acompai= || gne de messeigneurs le Daul || phin de France & duc Dor || leans/ en sa ville de || Valenciennes.: || M. D. xxxix. || [Rouen, L'Homme, 1540]. C4v: ¶ Jmprime a Rouen par Jehan lhomme. || Le vingtiesme iour de Mars Mil cinq c~es. || trente neuf. Paris BN: Rés. Lk7 10038.

[19] Deplora || tion sur le trespas de tres || noble Pr~icesse ma dame || Magdaleine de France || Royne Descoce. || [Rouen, Guillaume de La Motte, 1537]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (27).

[20] La complaincte de || Mars sur la venue de Lempereur en France. || ¶ Au tre-shault/ trespuissant: tresvertueux & tres= || chrestian [sic] Roy Francoys premier de ce nom/ || Claude Chappuys son treshumble || & tresobeissant Libraire: & varlet || de chambre ordinaire. [Rouen, for La Motte and Burges, 1540]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (25).

[21] *Cry de la guerre ouverte entre le roy de France et l'Empereur roy des Hespaignes* [Paris, Le

L'Homme published at least two separate editions. The Aix copy
notes in the colophon that it was published on 4 August (almost four
weeks after the King's declaration at Ligny).²² The copy that survives
in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, on the other hand, was printed on
10 August.²³

   The complex events of the war of 1543–1544 stimulated the most
active period in the lifetime of L'Homme's Rouen press. Hostilities
began with a formal declaration of war by Henry of England and this
was faithfully republished in Rouen—it would presumably have been
particularly important to Rouen's merchant community to know the
precise terms of the conflict with the northern neighbour.²⁴ Throughout
the two years of relatively intense fighting that followed events in this
northern theatre naturally dominated the output of the Rouen press.
Local readers were kept abreast of the frustration of an English naval
attack on Barfleur;²⁵ the defence of Landrecies in Picardy against
Imperial forces in September; and the successful campaign of the Duc
de Vendôme in Artois.²⁶ The Rouen presses also celebrated the French

----

Preux, 1542], Paris BN: Rés. Lb 30 86 *Cry de la guerre* [Lyon, Dolet, 1542], Paris BN:
Rothschild IV 4 49; *Cry de la guerre* [Lyon, s.n., 1542], London BL: C 33 h 10; *Cry de
la Guerre* [Troyes, Paris, 1542], Paris BN: Rés. Lb 30 224. Seguin, *L'Information*, nos.
167–9.

  ²² ¶ La desclara= || ration [sic] de la Guerre. Faicte par || le treschrestian [sic] Roy
de France || Contre Lempereur et tous ces || subiectz: tãt par mer ~q ~p terre. ||
[hand] Cum p. iuilegio [sic] || [Rouen, L'Homme, 1544]. [ ]4v: Jmprime par Jehan
Lhomme. Le quattriesme iour daoust Lã de grace || Mil cinq centz quarantedeux.
Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (11).

  ²³ La desclara= || ration [sic] de la Guerre. Faicte par || le treschrestian Roy
de France || contre Lempereur et tous ces || subiectz: tãt par mer ~q ~p terre. ||
Cum priuilegio. || [Rouen, L'Homme, 1542]. [ ]4v: Jmprime par Jehan Lhomme.
Le || dixiesme iour daoust Lã de grace || Mil cinq centz quarantedeux. Chantilly,
Musée Condé: IV B 72.

  ²⁴ ¶ Declaration || de la guerre enuers le Roy de || france de par le roy dengleter=
|| re et de par les subiectz la di= || cte declaration faicte a monsei= || gueur [sic]
lembassadeur de france || estant pour lors a la court du || grant conseil dengleterre.
|| ¶ Publie a Rouen a son de trõ || pe parmy la ville et carfourgs || dudict lieu.
Le cin~qesme iour || de Juillet. Mil cinq cens qua || rãtetrys. Cõtre les~d angloys.
[Rouen, L'Homme, 1543]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (9).

  ²⁵ ¶ La prinse et || de faicte des Angloys par les || Bretons deuãt la Ville de bar
|| fleu pres la hogue au pays de || cost~etin duche de Normendie || Le. xxii. iour
de Juillet mil c~iq || cens Quarante troys. || [woodcut]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (6).
For two Paris editions of this work see Seguin, *L'Information*, nos. 182, 183.

  ²⁶ ¶ La deffaicte || des Bourguignons et Henouyers/ || faicte par monsieur de
Vendosme || et le prince de Melphes: en || la conte Dartoys. || pres Landrecy. ||
[Rouen, L'Homme, 1543]. [ ]4r: ¶ Jmprime par Jehan Lhomme || imprimeur: ce
mardy xxix. || iour Daoust cinq cens || Quarante trois. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (4).

triumph in taking Luxembourg in September 1543, a signal reverse for the unfortunate William of Furstenberg, France's former ally forced by Charles earlier in the year to make a humiliating separate peace.[27] In the southern theatre the highpoint of French success was the capture from the Duc de Savoye of the port town of Nice by the Duc d'Enghien, working in close co-operation with the fleet of Barbarossa, and these events too merited a pamphlet from L'Homme's press. In this case good news travelled reasonably swiftly: the town fell on 22 August, yet Rouen readers were able to read an account of these events scarcely three weeks later.[28]

A noticeable trend of these news pamphlets was their patriotic tone. They record almost exclusively military successes, rather than the evident reverses that left France at the beginning of 1544 still perilously poised. But before fighting resumed the French nation could at least celebrate a more joyful event, when on 20 January 1544 Catherine de Medici, wife of the Dauphin Henry, at last, after ten years of marriage, gave birth to a son. The event was greeted with ecstatic celebrations at court, and eagerly hymned by the court poets; Rouen's printers hastened to carry the good news to an eager populace.[29]

On the war front 1544 dawned with a significant victory in the Italian theatre, where in January Enghien, Lieutenant General of Piedmont, had laid siege of Carignano. An Imperial relieving force was defeated at the battle of Cerisole on 14 April, allowing Enghien to complete the conquest of Carignano. These events were widely celebrated in France, not least in Rouen.[30] The northern theatre presented a more ominous prospect. In May Imperial forces recaptured Luxembourg and advanced into France; by July the Emperor himself was engaged in the siege of

---

La grande prinse et deconfiture des Espagnols et Bourguignons et Anglais devant la ville et chateau de Landrecy [Rouen, La Motte, 1543]. Seguin, *L'Information*, no. 193.

[27] La deffaicte et || destrousse du conte Guillau || me deuant Luxembourg/ || faicte par les Frãcoys ioux || te la teneur des letres cy a= || pres declarees. Auec la chã || son nouuelle. || Nouuellement imprime. [Rouen, 1543]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (22).

[28] ¶ La prinse de || Nice en sauoye. Par ung g~etil || hõme du pais. Auec vne let-tre || enuoyee par le Roy d~enemarc: || au treschrestien roy de France. || [Rouen, L'Homme, 1543]. [ ]4v: ¶ Jmprime par J. Lhõme || Le. xi. iour de Septembre. Aix Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (10).

[29] ¶ De la triumphante || et heureuse Natiuite de mõseigneur Le duc filz || premier de monseigneur le Daulphin. [Rouen, 1544]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (15).

[30] ¶ La prinse et assault || de la ville de carignen faicte par monsieur || Danguyen le xx. iour Dapuril. || [Rouen, Jehan Le Prest, 1544] || Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (13).

St-Dizier, and Imperial troops roamed through Champagne. Through
all of this the Rouen pamphlets keep up a remarkably optimistic aspect,
recording notable Imperial reverses, such as the death of the Prince
of Orange, killed in the Imperial assault on St-Dizier,[31] and a further
triumph for Antoine de Bourbon, Duc de Vendôme, better known by
his later title of King of Navarre, but at this point leader of the King's
armies in Picardy.[32] But in truth the prospects for French forces were
bleak; perhaps a hint of this predicament came with a pamphlet record-
ing, in more sober style, the order of battle arrayed for the defence
of France's vulnerable frontiers.[33] In fact, of course, the enemy had
progressed far beyond the frontiers of France, and there was general
relief when the Emperor, himself over-extended and running short
of funds, agreed to make peace. The peace of Crépy, signed on 18
September and published in Paris two days later, was hardly expected
to endure, but there was no hint of this as its terms were published
and studied through the kingdom—not least in Rouen, where Jean
L'Homme brought news of the treaty to his local audience.[34]

The peace with Charles, however fragile, did not itself end the war,
since parallel peace talks with England had made little headway. In the
summer of 1545 a reinvigorated Francis I conceived a bold plan to carry
the fight to the English, and a large naval fleet was assembled in Le
Havre. This time it was Guillaume de La Motte who published for the

---

[31] ¶ La deffaicte || du prince Dorenge auec sa gendar= || merie. Ensemble la
v~egeance de || la mort du duc de Cleues fai= || cte par le duc de Cassonne || son
oncle [three dots] || [Rouen, L'Homme, 1544]: Jmprime nouuellement par Jehan ||
lhomme le nenfie [sic] iour du moys || Daoust mil cinq cens qua= || rante quatre.
Aix, Méjanes: Rés, S 25 (30).
[32] ¶ La deffaicte || des Angloys & Bourguignons faicte || par le treshault sieur
et prince mõsieur || de Vandosme/ auec le nombre des pri= || sonniers enseignes
& guydõs/ & aultres || victoires obtenues du depuys par ledit || sieur/ comme
plus amplement vous est || declaire. [Rouen, L'Homme, 1544]: Jmprime par Jehan
lhomme le huict= || iesme iour Daoust/ mil cinq centz qua= || rante quatre. Aix,
Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (32).
[33] Lordre de lar= || mee du Roy nostre sire: pour la gar || de des frontieres de
France: contre || le camp de Lempereur: et celuy des || Angloys noz ennemys. ||
[Rouen, L'Homme, 1544]: Nouuellement Jmprime par Jehan lhomme le c~iquiesme ||
iour du moys Daoust lã || de grace mil c~iq centz || Quarãtequatre. Aix, Méjanes:
Rés. S 25 (31).
[34] La Publication du || traicte de la Paix faicte & accordee entre tres= || haultz
& trespuissans princes Francoys par la || grace de Dieu Roy de France treschrestien/
et || Charles Empereur & Roy des Espaignes. || Publie a Paris le samedy. xx. iour
de Sept~e= || bre. Lan de grace mil cinq c~es quarãte quatre. || ¶ Auec priuilege.
|| [Rouen, 1544]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (3).

benefit of Rouen readers a list of the ships assembled for the proposed invasion.[35] The French fleet did indeed set sail, and troops were briefly landed on the Isle of Wight; but a major naval engagement was averted when a gale blew the French fleet back towards their ports.

This last indecisive engagement also marks an end to the period of activity of the two Rouen presses. La Motte's account of the French naval forces is almost his last known publication, though a Robert La Motte is briefly recorded as active in Rouen a decade later. Jean L'Homme also prints a small number of books in the year 1545, including a rare royal edict, but is not heard of again. A decade later a Martin L'Homme surfaces briefly in Rouen before moving to Paris, where he prints small tracts in much the same style as the earlier Rouen publishing firm. But for the moment, the presses of Rouen are stilled; the news market in Normandy would await the turbulent events of the French Wars of Religion before the level of printing activity witnessed in the 1540s would be attained once more.

The short history of the L'Homme press in Rouen raises many interesting questions. There is no doubt that the small, rudimentary pamphlets turned out by L'Homme found an eager readership in Rouen. Given the number of these works, and the demand for instant reprints, are we justified in describing this as a news community? Only, one might suggest, in some respects. It is clear, in the first instance, that the events shared with Rouen's reading public are extremely carefully chosen. L'Homme's pamphlets carry news only of French success: Rouen's merchants, anxious for their cargoes and consignments, will learn of French reverses only by word of mouth. No French press, in Paris or the provinces, would provide a written account.

In this context it is legitimate to ask what lay behind the establishment of L'Homme's press, and the other small ventures that flourished in Rouen during these years. Are we dealing here with a market for news, or a conscious attempt to shape opinion? It is clear that L'Homme's press was officially sanctioned. A number of his books include on the

---

[35] ¶ Lordre triu= || phant et grand nombre des Nauyres es= || quipez pour le faict de la Guerre par mer || a lencontre du Roy Dengleterre. Ordõ= || nez par le commandemene [sic] du Roy nostre || syre & ses lieutenans en ce faict & regard || Auec les nõs des gentilzhõmes & autres || deleguez & cõmis cappitaines des~d nauy= || res. Aussi les noms des pillotes & cõdu= || cteurs du~d esquipage le tout selõ lordõnã || ce & voulloir du~d seigneur. Auec la nou= || uelle reformation de la Paix faicte entre || Lempereur & le Roy. || [Rouen, La Motte, 1545]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (12).

title-page an explicit reference to a privilege, presumably one granted by the local Rouen authorities. A number of the colophons contain a more explicit reference to the local power, noting a book was published 'par commandement de Justice' or 'de lauctorite & consentement de Justice'.[36] Edicts, and official documents such as the declaration of war in 1542 are accompanied by a crude woodcut representation of the royal coat of arms: a normal appurtenance of such edicts, but a clear visual signal that the work was printed with authority. In the light of this evidence we should at least consider the possibility that L'Homme's publications were not only officially authorized, but formally commissioned, and perhaps even wholly paid for by the local council. In this case they may have been intended for distribution to the local citizenry, rather than for commercial sale.

Printers would be fully familiar with such commissions. When a local ordinance, or royal decree, was to be published locally, normally as a broadsheet poster, the work would be commissioned from a local jobbing printer, and the whole consignment delivered to the local authorities.[37] The fact that such broadsheets rarely survive has completely disguised the importance of such commissions to the economics of the provincial print industry.[38] But larger pamphlets could also be commissioned for distribution, rather than sale. Alastair Duke provides us with a specific example of a treatise in defence of Indulgences, ordered to be published by the Cathedral Chapter at Utrecht, in the wake of Luther's criticisms.[39] Presumably here the Chapter was acting to defend their economic interests, and the pamphlet (an edition of five hundred copies) might well have been given away free.

---

[36] Combat faict en= || tre les Angloys/ Et la Guer || nison de Therouenne [three dots] || [woodcut] || ¶ Par cõmandem~et de Justice [Rouen, Jacques Gentil, 1543]. Aix, Méjanes: Rés. S 25 (29).

[37] Contracts for such payments are recorded in several volumes of the *Répertoire bibliographique*, extracted from local archival records. Often this enrolled record of the payment to a local printer is the only surviving indication that the broadsheet ever existed. See, by way of illustration, the seven ordonnances and proclamations commissioned by the town council of Bourges for printing by Jacques Garnier between 1562 and 1563. *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 13, p. 28.

[38] A notable exception is the wonderful collection of locally printed broadsheets printed on the instructions of the municipality of Troyes preserved in the library of Troyes Archives Municipales (now deposited in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Troyes). *Répertoire Bibliographique*, vol. 12, Jean Moreau, nos 1, 7, 18, 24, 71, 74.

[39] Duke, 'Posters, pamphlets and printers', p. 30.

It is not implausible that the production of pamphlets in Rouen reflects a similar conscious effort by the Rouen authorities to bolster morale. One notes in this connection that the output of optimistic bulletins from the military theatres reaches its peak in August 1544, in truth the moment of greatest jeopardy for France. One could well imagine the Rouen authorities taking action to stem the panic that was close to seizing Paris; but there again there would equally have been a lively commercial market for news in these perilous times. In the absence of corroborative sources these are questions that cannot satisfactorily be resolved. What is certain is that the conjunction of a strong desire on the part of the authorities to promote reassurance, and a thirst for news among Rouen's commercial classes, created a happy business climate for the fortunate Jean L'Homme.

During the crisis of the sixteenth century books would be published in over one hundred towns and cities around France. Yet most of these places would establish their printing presses only in the last two or three decades of the century, and even then only intermittently. In these smaller local publishing houses pamphlets often formed a large part of the stock in trade, if not the sole rationale for the establishment of a local printing press. In this way the burning issues of the day were carried to a whole multitude of increasingly politicised citizen readers, who were able to judge the competing claims first of Catholic and Protestants, then of Leaguers and Royalists. Sometimes these books were reprints of Paris or Lyon works, sometimes published in two local towns that had chosen competing loyalties.[40] Citizens of these towns were thus able to follow the play of events, both near and far: accounts of battles and sieges from the French wars, but also events from elsewhere in Europe that abutted on French affairs: the campaigns of the Duke of Parma against the insurgent Dutch, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the subsequent feats and calamities of foreign forces on French and Netherlandish soil.[41]

The brief career of Jean L'Homme offers a precocious window on this world of anxiety and debate from a period not normally associated

---

[40] See, for instance, the contrasting loyalties of printers in the two principal cities of Brittany, Rennes and Nantes, in the last decade of the century. *Répertoire bibliogaphique*, vol. 19.

[41] On this Franco/Netherlandish news market see chapter six of this volume.

with the proliferation of a popular news literature. The exigencies of the moment created what was, in the context of 1540s Normandy, a new demand and a new niche market in Rouen's book world. One only wonders what other small worlds of print may be encompassed in the still uncatalogued volumes of so many European libraries.
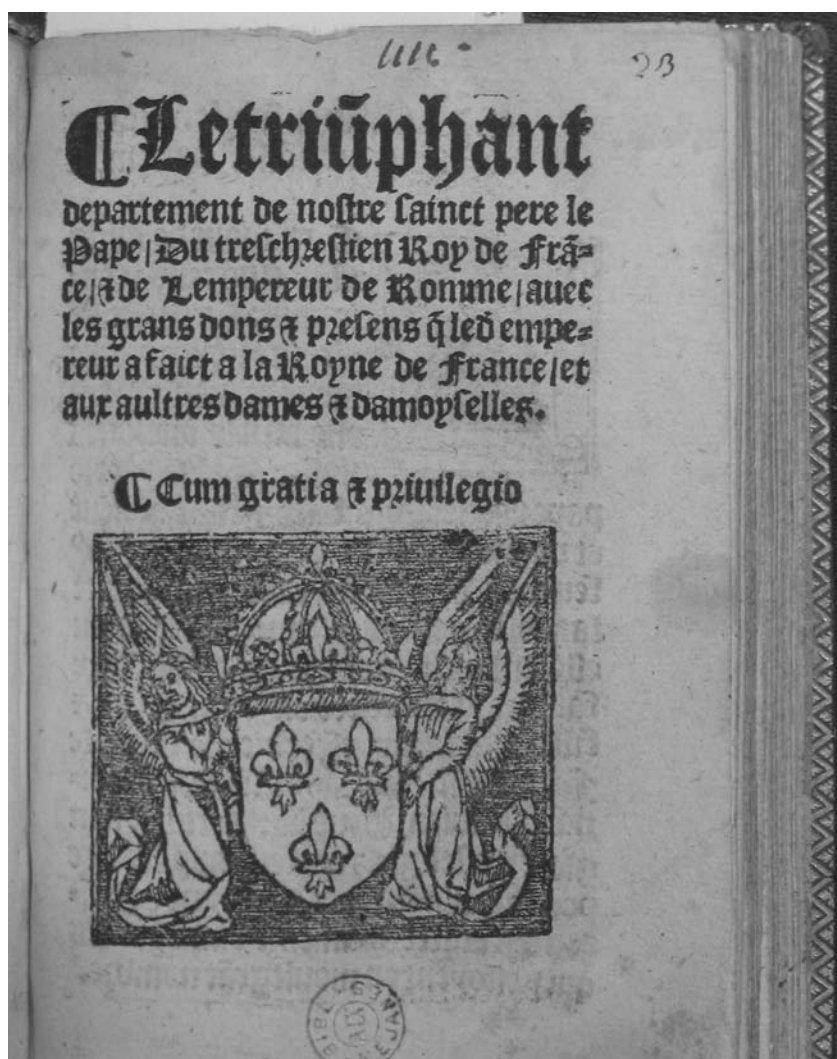
Fig. 2.1   Le triumphant departement de nostre sainct pere le Pape
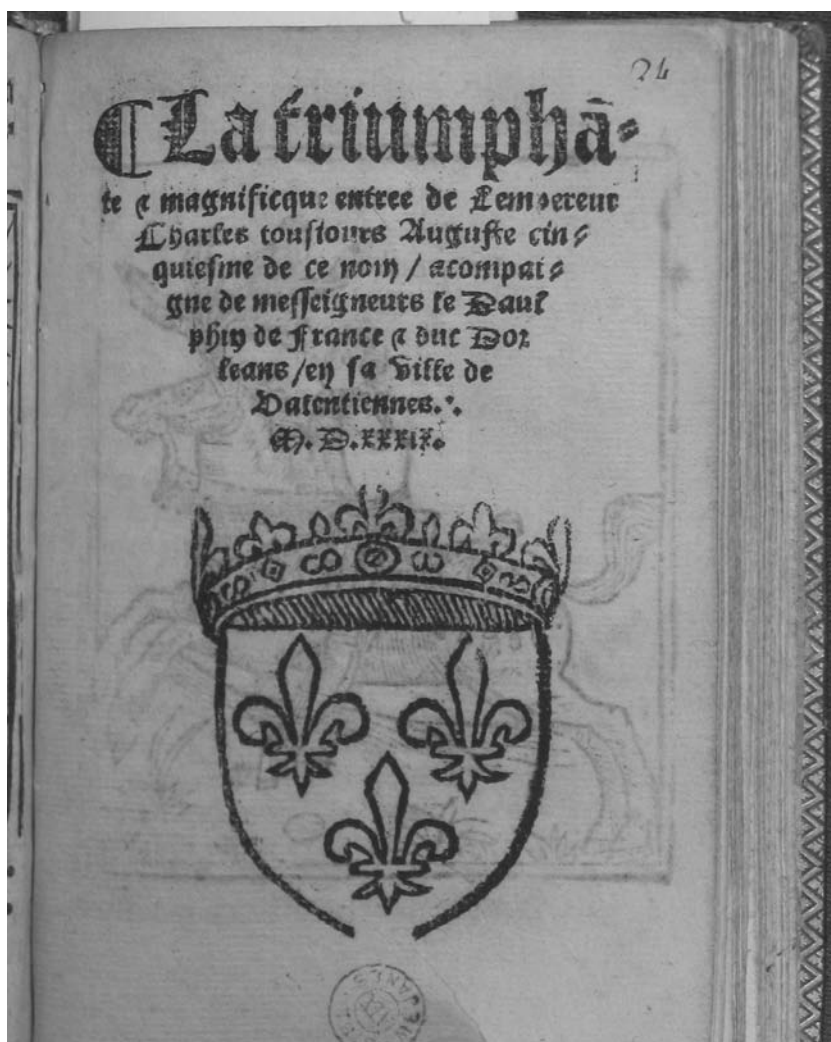
Fig. 2.2   La triumphant et magnificque entree de l'empereur
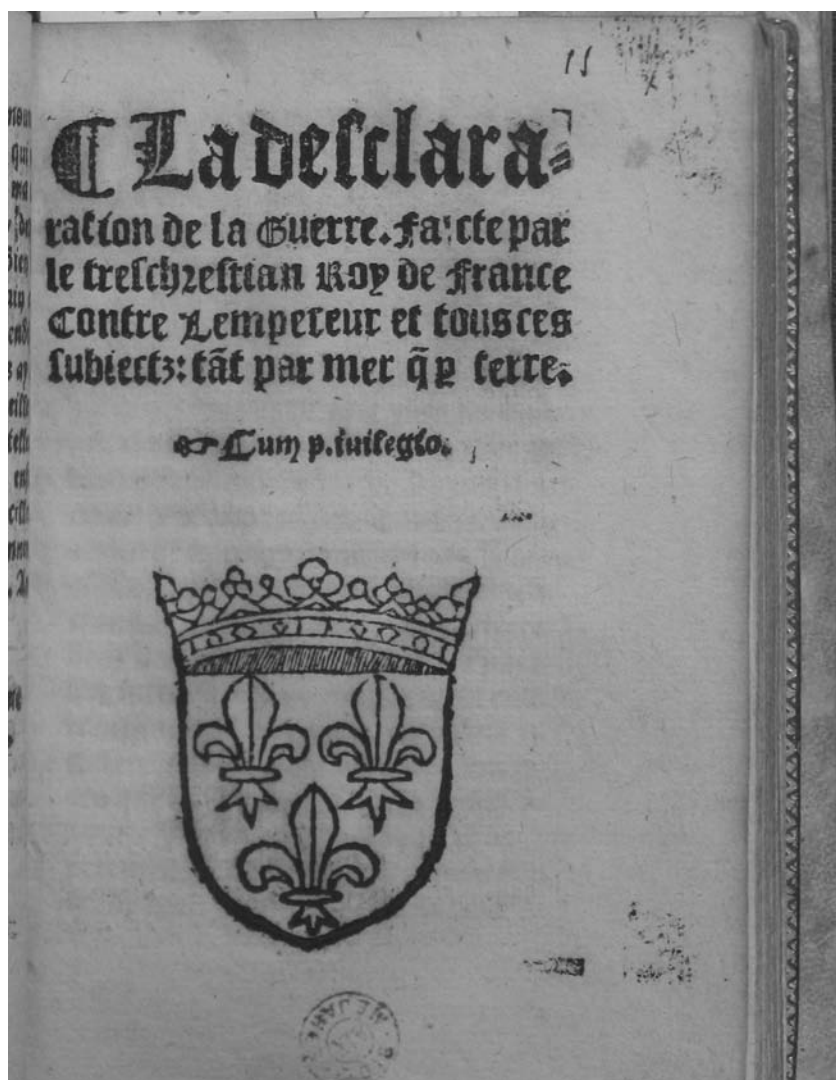
Fig. 2.3   La declaration de la guerre

¶ La prinse et de faicte des Angloys par les Bretons deuãt la Uille de bar fleu pres la hogue au pays de costêtin duche de Normendie Le.xxii.iour de Juillet mil ciq cens Quarante troys.

Fig. 2.4   La prinse et defaicte des Angloys

Fig. 2.5   La prinse de Nice en Savoye

Fig. 2.6   La deffaicte du prince d'Orenge
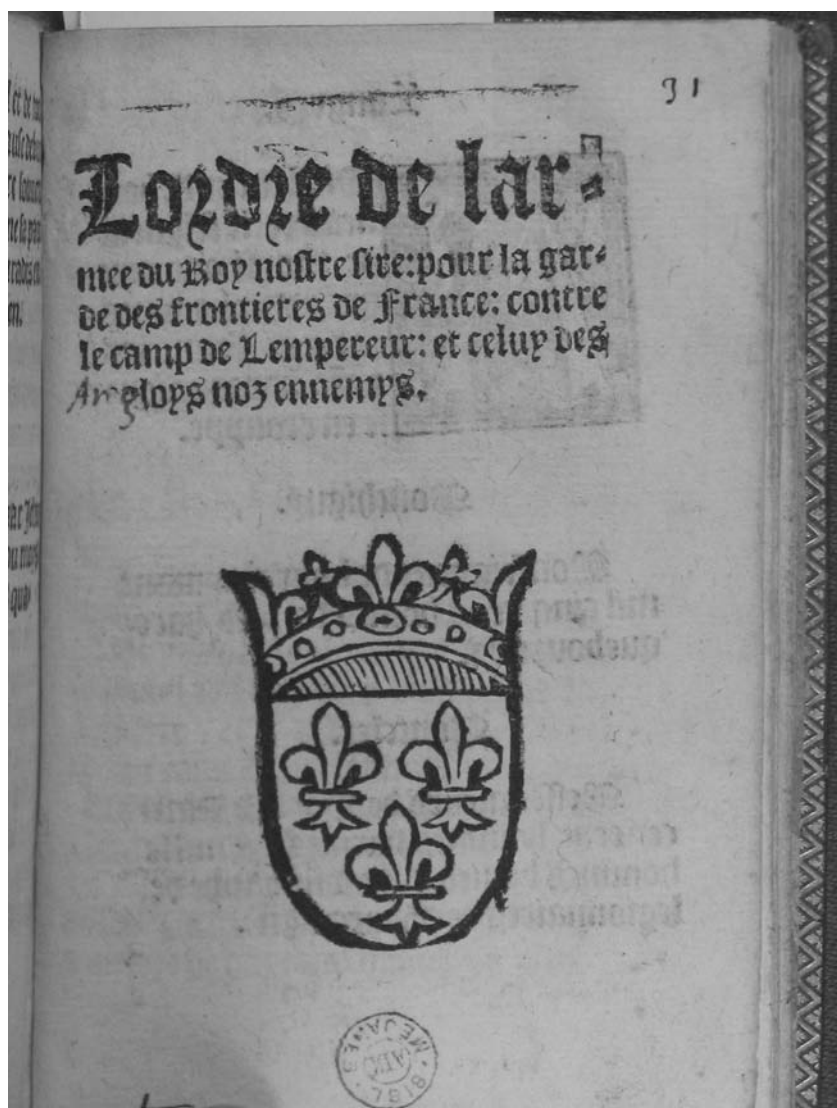
Fig. 2.7   L'ordre de l'armee du roy
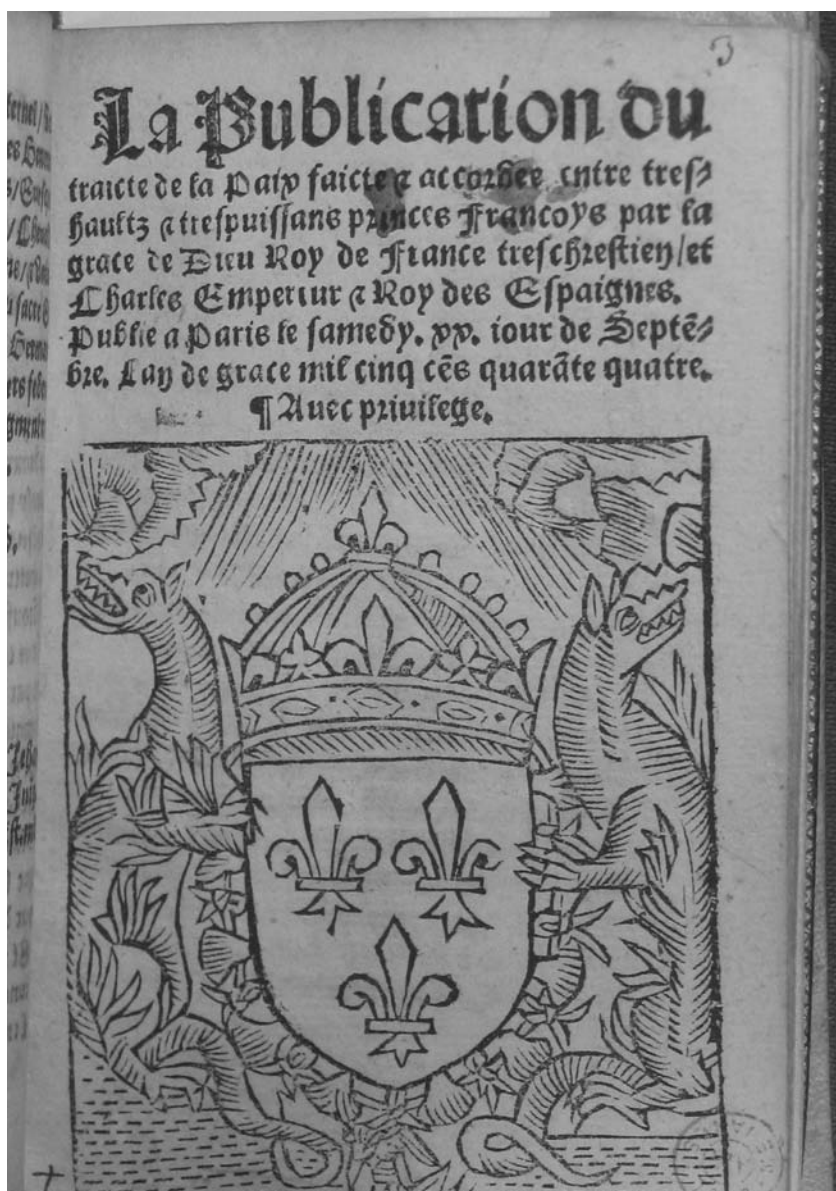
Fig. 2.8   La publication du traicte de la paix

PROTESTANTISM, PUBLICATION AND THE FRENCH WARS OF RELIGION: THE CASE OF CAEN

In the years after 1555 the French Protestant church experienced a period of vast growth.[1] From the foundation of the first recognisably Calvinist congregations in this year to the outbreak of the French religious wars a short seven years later, the Huguenot movement had recruited as many as one million members, organized in over one thousand churches: at its height probably a quarter of the urban population of France. The growth of Protestantism in turn stimulated (and at least partly, was stimulated by) a large increase in vernacular Protestant printing. The new congregations were hungry for religious writings of all kinds: works of instruction and consolation, prayer books and handbooks of congregational worship, polemic against the established Catholic church. The market in Protestant publishing expanded rapidly to meet this demand.

What is less frequently remarked upon is that this development also entailed a change in the nature and location of the Protestant printing presses. In the years before the most rapid expansion of the Huguenot movement French Protestant publishing had been entirely dominated by Geneva.[2] The well-resourced publishing industry in Calvin's home town had grown up as a result of Protestant emigration from France, and for much of the 1540s and 1550s its output was sufficient to satisfy the needs of the small evangelical groups within the kingdom. The results
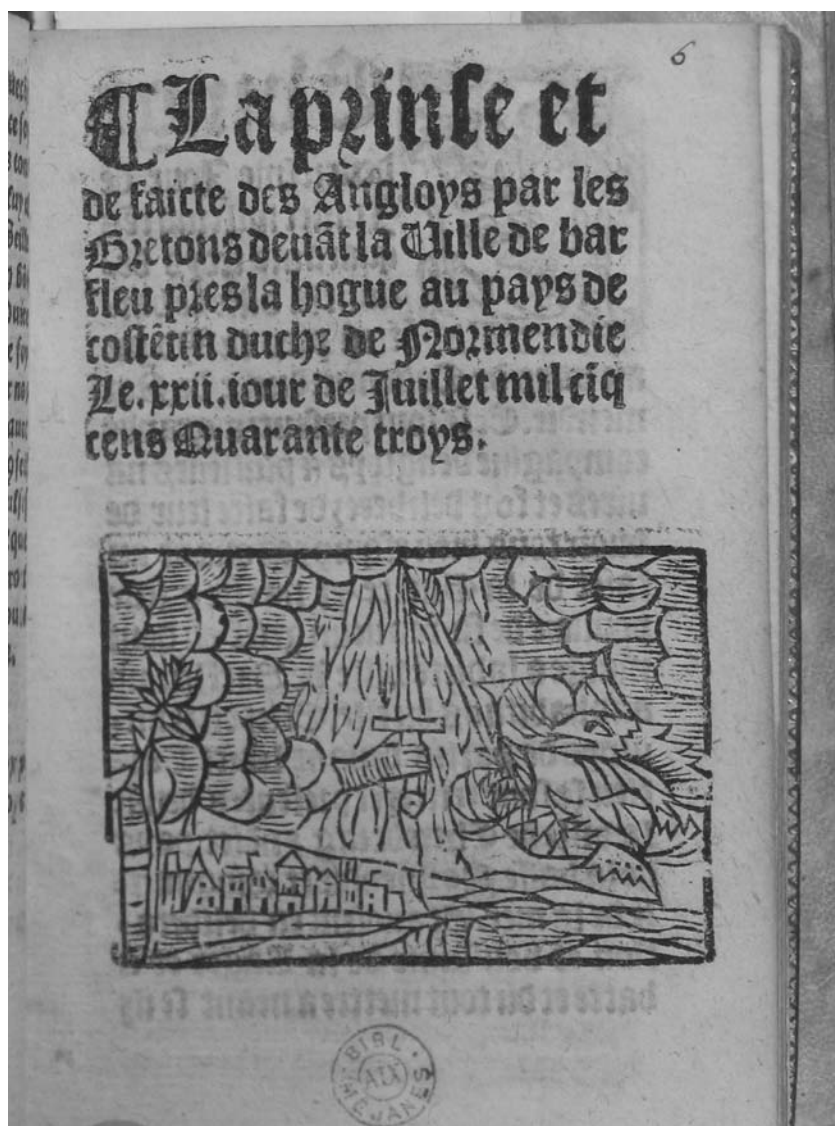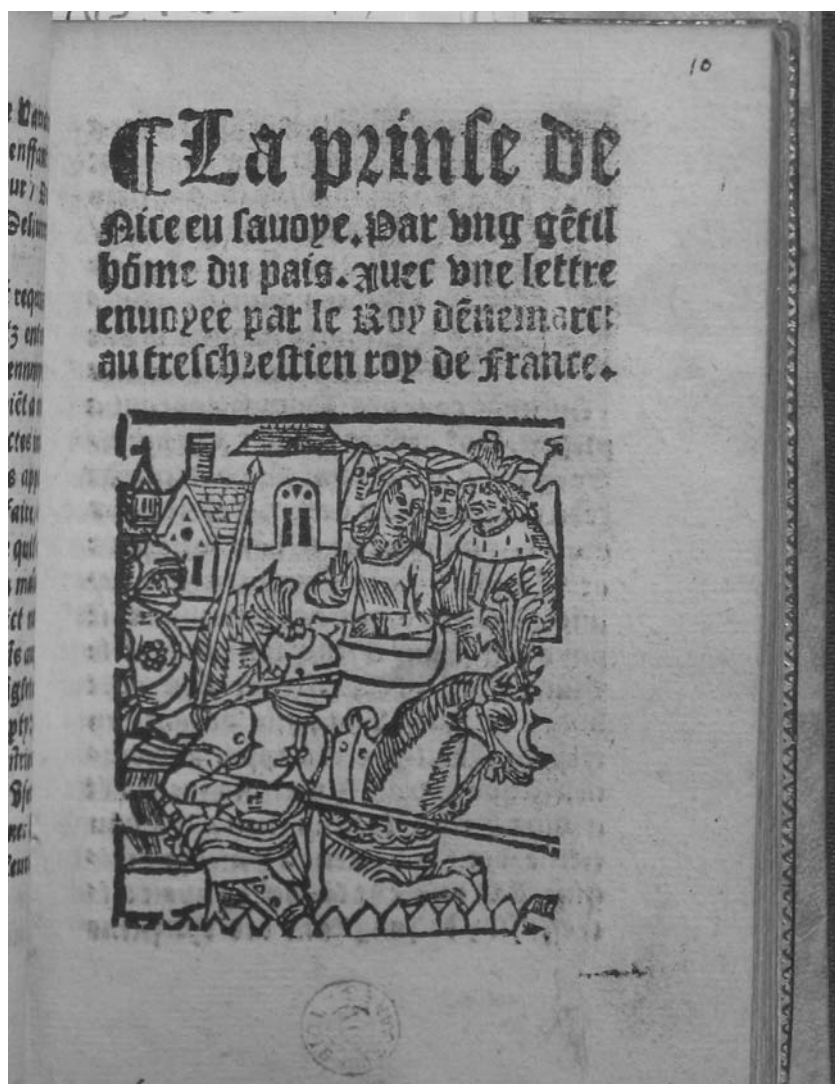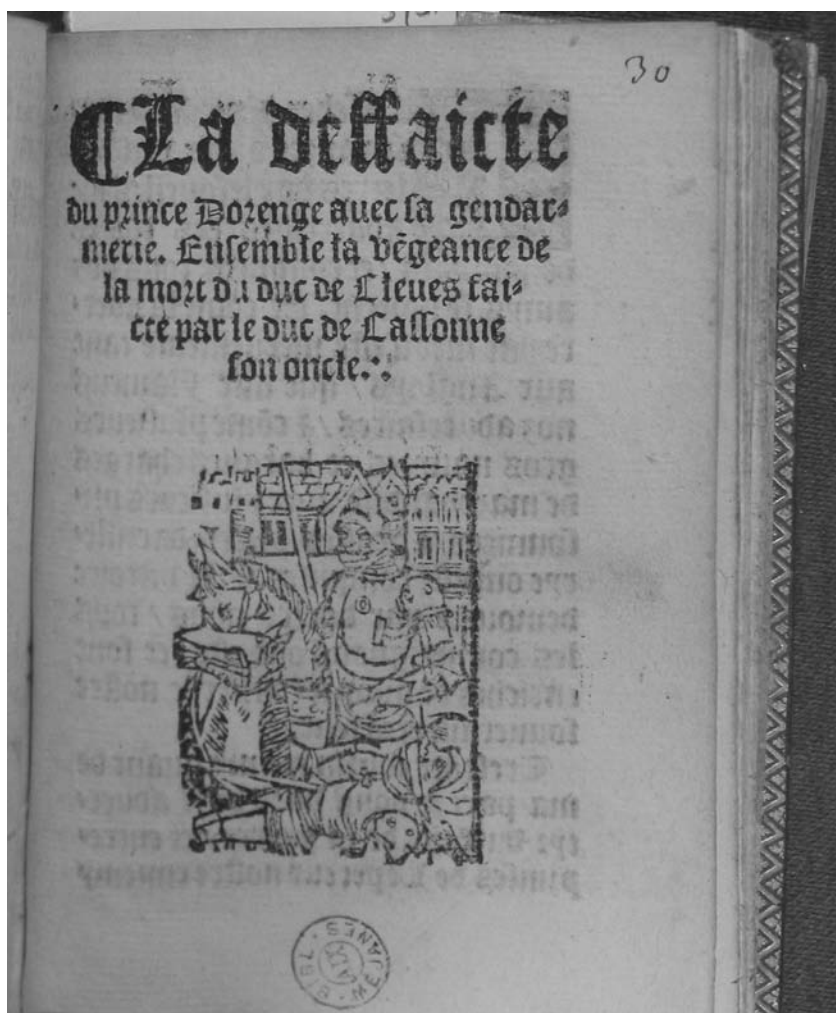
---

[1] The general literature on the French Protestant movement is now reasonably copious. See especially, N. M. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven, 1980), Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford, 1987), Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1995). It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the help I have received from other members of the French book project group in the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute, and from those libraries which are enlightened enough to permit reproductions from their early printed books. Without such reproductions work of this sort would be impossible.

[2] Robert Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva, 1956). Francis Higman, *Piety and the People. Religious Printing in French, 1511–1551* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1996). Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva, 1979).

of the Genevan monopoly were by and large beneficial. In particular, it was important that the body of works published in Geneva during these years, heavily but not exclusively dominated by Calvin's own writings, were characterised by a definite doctrinal coherence. Thus the closely controlled Genevan industry helped bring order and give intellectual shape to the nascent French movement; indeed, at this stage, before the formation of a national church, the ideological coherence of the printed propaganda emanating from Geneva was one of the movement's strongest cards.[3]

However, as the French Huguenot movement began to attract ever larger numbers of adherents towards the end of the 1550s the Genevan monopoly served the movement less well. For many different reasons—problems of supply, economy, and speed in satisfying demand—it became urgently necessary to establish presses closer to the market. Thus the rapid growth of Protestant congregations in France in these years stimulated in turn the growth of a native French publishing industry.

For all that, the conditions which stimulated the growth of Protestantism did not entirely remove the constraints under which the industry had previously operated. With the solitary and unusual exception of the Marot/Bèze psalter, the publication of Protestant works within the kingdom of France was never officially authorized.[4] Even as they responded to the commercial opportunities presented by the growth of this new market, French publishers still had to be aware that they were engaging in what remained an illegal activity. Mindful of these considerations few printers who worked within France were prepared to place their names and place of work on Protestant works. Even during the years 1560–1565, the high point of the French Protestant movement in terms of both numbers and confidence, only a small proportion of

---

[3] For the regulation of the Genevan printing industry see Hans Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit des Glaubenskämpfe* (Geneva, 1969); R. Crahay, 'Censure Romaine et censure Genevoise au XVIeme siècle', in *Les Églises et leurs institutions au XVIeme siècle* (Montpellier, 1978), pp. 169–191.

[4] E. Droz, 'Antoine Vincent, la propagande protestante par le psautier', in Gabrielle Berthoud (ed.), *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva, 1957), pp. 276–93. The peculiar circumstances which permitted de Bèze to obtain this authorization are discussed in Geneviève Guilleminto-Chrétien, 'Le controle de l'édition en France dans les années 1560: la genèse de l'édit de Moulins', in Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin (eds.), *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1988), p. 382.

the Protestant works printed within France actually bear the name of the printer and place of publication.

The high proportion of Protestant works published anonymously makes it extremely difficult to reconstruct with any certainty large parts of this Protestant publishing network. The extent of the involvement of printers in the established centres of Lyon, and particularly in Paris, remain largely undisclosed. However, modern typographical analysis permits some of the mysteries of this anonymous printing to be unlocked, and the resources of the Sixteenth Century French Book project, currently in progress in the Reformation Studies Institute at the University of St Andrews, will in due course make possible the identification of many of the printers involved in this secretive industry.[5] The project, which is attempting a systematic survey of all religious books published in France during the sixteenth century, has located a high proportion of the surviving copies of these enigmatic works, and work has now begun in identifying printers and locations. What follows is the first full attempt to reconstruct the history of the most important provincial centre of Protestant printing within France: that of Normandy, heavily centred upon Caen, the second city of the province.

Historically, Normandy was one of the parts of France in which Protestantism had secured some of its earliest adherents.[6] Prosperous, densely populated and well-connected through trade to the outside world, Normandy was bound to find adherents of the new doctrines among its more than usually mobile population. A number of its citizens were among the early martyrs of Protestantism within France, and there is evidence that Calvin's books were circulating in the province from the early 1540s. As Calvinist congregations began to form within France, the towns of Normandy seemed especially eager to embrace the new doctrines. A visitor to the famous Guibray fair in 1560, one of the most important and best attended fairs in France, found the whole event a ferment of evangelical agitation. Enthusiasts for the new religion moved through the stalls chanting evangelical songs, and

---

[5] Andrew Pettegree, Malcom Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

[6] For Normandy Protestantism see Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the French Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981); Maryélise Suffern Lamet, 'Reformation, War and Society in Caen, 1558–1610' (University of Massachusetts, Ph.D., 1978). An article based on this published dissertation is also useful: idem, 'French Protestants in a position of strength. The Early Years of the Reformation in Caen, 1558–1568', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9, 1978, pp. 35–55.

openly confronting Catholics that stood in their way.[7] In Rouen, the provincial capital, during 1560 and 1561 Protestant zealots repeatedly sought out confrontation with outraged members of the local Catholic congregations, defying the orders for restraint issued by an increasingly desperate town council.[8]

But at least in Rouen Calvinism had met with local resistance: in Caen even this seems barely evident. Here, the penetration achieved by the Huguenot movement was rapid and complete. The foundation of a Calvinist church in 1558 was followed by a wave of iconoclastic incidents, which met with little local resistance. A local source noted in 1560 the distribution of pamphlets 'containing a statement of their faith against the Holy Sacrament of the altar and the power of the pope and of the priests.'[9] The news of the massacre of Vassy stimulated a co-ordinated campaign of image-breaking and destruction in the churches and monasteries of Caen, after which Mass was no longer celebrated. The town's Protestant allegiance was sealed by a visit towards the end of the first war by the Protestant army led by the Admiral Coligny, accompanied by Theodore de Bèze, who conducted a communion service and baptisms for the local congregation. Caen's experience was mirrored by a chain of smaller towns in lower Normandy stretching up into the Cotentin peninsula, including St Lô, Bayeux and Cherbourg. Given that a high proportion of the local nobility had also declared their allegiance to the new religion, Lower Normandy was in many respects fast becoming a Protestant stronghold.

These were apparently ideal conditions for the growth of a local Protestant printing industry. The ubiquity of the Protestant congregations and the high degree of support among both the local nobility and civic elites seemed to promise relative security; the growth of the congregations (at its height, a third of the population of Caen) created buoyant demand; there was, moreover, a local tradition of printing on which to build. In fact, the origins of Protestant printing in the province are shrouded in a mystery of a slightly discreditable nature. Some years ago, the distinguished bibliographer Jean-François Gilmont, then

---

[7] Nathanaël Weiss, 'Une mission à la foire de Guibray: Lettre d'un ministre Normand à Calvin, août 1561', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 28 (1879), pp. 455–64.

[8] Benedict, *Rouen*, ch. 2.

[9] '…contenant leur foi et créance contre le St. Sacrement de l'autel et puissance du pape et des prêtres.' Lamet, 'Reformation in Caen', p. 160.

compiling a bibliography of the Genevan printer Jean Crespin, noted
the appearance of Crespin's trademark printing device, the anchor and
serpent, on a number of works which appeared not to have emanated
from his press. In fact, he concluded, these books were not Genevan
at all, but the work of an anonymous printer in Normandy who he
identified, with a fine dramatic touch, as the 'Fausseur Normand'—the
Norman Forger.[10] It is now possible to identify this printer with a fair
degree of certainty as Pierre Philippe of Caen. Works bearing the
counterfeit anchor device are printed with the same materials as other
books now identified as those of Philippe's press. Indeed, since this
connection has been made it is possible to identify the Caen press as
one of busiest Protestant printing houses operating within the borders
of France during these years.[11]

The first question to be addressed in investigating Philippe's work, is
why he made use of a counterfeit version of Crespin's printing device
in this way. The initial motive must undoubtedly have been conceal-
ment. Philippe's first work as a Protestant printer was published in 1559,
when the Protestant community in Normandy was emerging from the
shadows, but when open adherence to the new doctrines was still peril-
ous.[12] A printer, with his fixed equipment, was especially vulnerable to
retribution if his handiwork was identified: this explains why at this stage
Philippe supplied his work not only with the camouflage of a Genevan
mark, but with a false place of printing. Yet Philippe was still using the
Genevan mark in 1562, when conditions were very different and the
same considerations would no longer apply. In this year he published
two editions of Ratramne's *Traité du corps et du sang de Jesus Christ*, one
bearing the anchor mark, and one not.[13] In these circumstances, the
decision to persist with the Genevan mark was probably commercially
led. Members of the congregations, long used to purchasing books

---

[10] J.-F. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVIe siècle* (Geneva, 1981), pp.
101–5. See also Gilmont, *Bibliographie des Editions de Jean Crespin, 1550–1572* (2 vols.,
Verviers, 1981).

[11] A partial listing of Philippe's works is attempted in Pierre Aquilon, *Bibliographie
Normande. Bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle* (Répertoire
bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle, fasc. Hors série, 1992)
(hereafter *RBN*), pp. 320–25. The identification of Philippe as the 'fausseur Normand'
together with the discoveries made in the course of this investigation will more than
treble the number of works that can be attributed to his press.

[12] Francesco Negri, *Tragedie du roy franc-arbitre* [Villefranche = Caen, Philippe], 1559.
Gilmont, *Crespin Bibliographie*, 59/9*.

[13] Gilmont, *Crespin*, p. 104. Id., *Crespin Bibliographie*, 62/4***.

from Crespin's press, regarded the Genevan mark as a certification of quality. Genevan facsimiles therefore possessed a certain authority in the marketplace, which local printers were keen to exploit.

This fact explains why so much of the Protestant publishing produced in Normandy in these years was Genevan both in the choice of books and their style. In this respect Philippe most certainly led the way. The initial letters which decorate his books are locally re-cut imitations of alphabets familiar from the works of the Genevan printers Estienne and Crespin. And in addition to the famous Crespin anchor, Philippe also employed a version of the printer's device of another Genevan printer, Jean Durant, on an edition of a popular small tract, the *Sommaire recueil des signes sacrez*, in 1561.[14]

Philippe's editions clearly enjoyed a considerable commercial success. Fuelled by the rapid expansion in the local congregation after 1560, Philippe's presses turned out a growing number of editions, including many of the most popular texts of the new movement: the *Baston de la foi* of Guido de Brès, Barthélemy Causse's *Vrai Bouclier de la foi* and a new French translation of Luther's *On the Freedom of a Christian*.[15] As he prospered, so his works became more costly and ambitious. In 1562 Philippe published a fine folio edition of Calvin's *Institutes*, the only one published outside the large printing houses of Geneva and Lyon.[16] But even this was not the most ambitious of Philippe's ventures, for in this same year he also brought to the press a pirated version of the English Geneva bible.[17] This was a very large undertaking, and not just because of the technical difficulties of publishing in a foreign language. A work of this size would have absorbed the whole energies of his pressmen for at least two months, and involved a considerable investment in terms of capital and labour. The fact that such an ambitious venture could be undertaken (and this was not the only such book to be published locally, as we shall see) demonstrates that the Protestant printing industry in Normandy commanded considerable capital resources. Certainly

---

[14] Copy in the Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Française, Rés. 9051. This is one of five editions of this small anonymous work (sometimes attributed to Theodore de Bèze) published in 1561. Philippe was responsible for two, one with, and one without the Durant-style mark; *RBN* (Philippe), no. 5 for this second version.

[15] *RBN* (Philippe), nos. 1, 3.

[16] J.F. Gilmont and R. Peter, *Bibliotheca Calviniana. Les oeuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVIᵉ siècle* (3 vols., Geneva, 1991–2000), 62/7.

[17] Gilmont, *Crespin*, p. 103. STC 2095.

demand for Protestant books was by this stage sufficient to sustain not only Philippe but several other new publishers.

The best known of these other newly emerging publishing businesses was that run by Pierre Le Chandelier. The more cautious Le Chandelier began printing only in 1562, after the edict of January had given the Protestant congregations a degree of legal protection. In this and following years Le Chandelier turned out a number of substantial works for the use of the Protestant congregations, including a New Testament, at least three editions of the psalms, and the popular works of Causse and de Brès.[18] In the newly relaxed climate almost all of the works are signed, and are easily identified by his distinctive initial letters. But it is now becoming clear that Le Chandelier also published works that he was less anxious to identify as his own. A recent discovery in the municipal library at Caen has thrown a whole new light on the operations of several of the more respectable Caen printing houses.

This single bound volume contains seventeen small ephemeral tracts from the years 1560–63.[19] Most are extremely rare: some indeed known in no other surviving copy. All are of a wholly different character from the works discussed above, being examples of the short political manifestos issued in increasing numbers during these years by local Calvinist congregations and the movement's national leadership. None carry the name of their printer, but typographical analysis reveals the involvement of at least three of the Caen printers: Philippe, Le Chandelier and a third printer yet to be discussed, Simon Mangeant.

A number of these tracts are manifestos published by the major Normandy congregations, including an appeal to the Queen mother, Catherine of Medici, from the inhabitants of Rouen and a defence of the congregation of St Lô against the accusation that they had been responsible for the local outbreaks of iconoclasm.[20] The publication of such works on a Normandy press is not surprising, though the fact that congregations in these places both turned to printers in Caen, rather than having them printed in their own towns is worthy of note. This would have been for very different reasons in the two cases. St Lô was yet to establish a printing press; Rouen, in contrast, has a long-standing

[18] *RBN* (Le Chandelier), nos. 1, 1*, 4, 5, 6, 7.
[19] Caen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés. A. 1565.
[20] *Elegie de la Royne mere du Roy envoyee par les citoyens de Rouen*, n.p. [= Caen, Philippe], n.d. [1562]; *Breve apologie de l'innocence des fideles de Saint Lo*, n.p. [= Caen, Mangeant], 1562. Caen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Rés. A. 1565/12, 15. See Figs. 1, 4.

publishing industry, but the poisoned relations between Protestants and Catholics within the city made the publication of evangelical works a perilous undertaking. Consequently, only a very small number of Protestant works were ever printed in Rouen, and then only in conditions of great secrecy.[21]

Interesting as these local works are, as striking in this Caen collection is the presence of a selection of the manifestos issued by the Huguenot military leadership under the aegis of the Duc de Condé, here re-issued with Caen imprints. These manifestos originally emanated from the press of Éloi Gibier in Orléans, who published several editions of the twenty tracts which make up the corpus of the Condéan manifestos in a series of highly recognizable quarto editions.[22] The Gibier editions were extremely popular and widely disseminated, and it has not previously been recognized that Condé's manifestos may also have been reprinted on other presses within France: in this respect the discovery of these small octavo Normandy editions is an event of some importance. In fact, the Condéan tracts were more widely disseminated even than this. There is evidence of other French, possibly Parisian reprints of some of the more popular works,[23] and the pamphlets achieved contemporary translations in at least two other European vernaculars, English and German.[24]

It is interesting to ask why these Normandy editions were published without the name of the printer. After all, all three printing houses were printing other works during these years with their names attached, and these editions would have been as recognizably their work to interested

---

[21] The best documented Protestant printing house was that of Abel Clémence, whose output has now been largely reconstructed by the researches of Clutton and Gilmont. *RBN*, pp. 361–3. The bookseller Florent Valentin was also briefly involved in the Protestant book trade: an edition of the Marot/Bèze psalms bearing his name survives in the Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Française in Paris (Rés. 12155). Interestingly this edition, possibly printed locally, also uses a replica of the printer's marks of Jean Durant of Geneva (see above, n. 14). For the beginnings of printing in St Lô see below.

[22] Louis Desgraves, *Éloi Gibier, Imprimeur à Orléans, 1536–1588* (Geneva, 1966). J.-F. Gilmont, 'La première diffusion des "Mémoires de Condé" par Éloi Gibier en 1562–1563', in Aquilon and Martin, *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, pp. 58–70.

[23] Paris, Bibliothèque de France, LB 33.116C, LB 33.64cC/D, LB 33.65.

[24] *Declaration made by Condé of the causes which have constrained him to take on the defence of the King's authority*, London, Rowland Hall for Edward Sutton, 1562. Oxford, Bodelian Library 8o O 67 (1) Th. contains no fewer than nine of these English translations of the Gibier tracts. German edition of the *Declaration* recorded in the catalogue of the former Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Flugschr. 1562/21 (a collection dispersed or destroyed in the Second World War).

contemporaries as they are to modern bibliographers. The decorated initial letters used at the opening of the text in all but a couple of these tracts (on sig. A2r) are extremely distinctive. In this respect, the disguise of anonymity is pretty threadbare: there is no real attempt by the printers to disguise their workmanship. In fact, it was an open secret that Caen's Protestant printers were turning out political tracts of this nature. In July 1563 Theodore de Bèze, by now returned to Geneva, informed Heinrich Bullinger in a letter that that one of the most important of these works, Coligny's defense against the charge of complicity in the assassination of the duc de Guise, had been published in Normandy.[25]

What then is the purpose of the printers' discretion? It seems that what may have been intended here is not so much anonymity in the usual sense as 'deniability'. The printers may have been governed by the need to be mindful of the sensitivities of their friends and allies on the Caen city council. Philippe, Mangeant and Le Chandelier were all leading figures in the city's new Protestant establishment. Pierre Philippe was the most actively involved, apparently serving as elder of the Calvinist congregation from the beginning of the congregation's surviving records in 1562 through to 1569.[26] Both Mangeant and Le Chandelier were also committed church members, bringing their children for baptism and attending the church's services. The fact that Le Chandelier's daughter Sara was sponsored at her christening by the 'honorable homme M. Gieffroy Le Laboureur, principal du collège du Boys', the local Latin school, suggests his own influential connections.[27]

The ties of friendship and the business associations which connected the Caen printers to the city's governing council, itself heavily infiltrated by members of the Calvinist congregation, would have made them fully aware of the political constraints within which the community was obliged to operate. Whereas the Calvinist publishers were prepared to own responsibility for uncontroversial works for congregational worship, the publication of the more incendiary political tracts without acknowledgement of local provenance made it easier for the council to avoid having to take official cognizance of their existence. The same

---

[25] *Correspondence de Theodore de Bèze*, ed. Henri Meylan et al., (28 vols., Geneva, 1960–), vol. IV, no. 276.

[26] C.E. Lart, *The Registers of the Protestant Church at Caen, vol. 1: Births and Marriages, 1560–1572* (1908), pp. 13, 30, 132, 162, 333, 393, 485.

[27] Lart, *Registers*, pp. 57, 127, 388, 423 (Le Chandelier).

strategy was followed quite consciously by the Genevan city authorities, who on several occasions authorised publication of works potentially offensive to other neighbouring powers on the specific condition that Geneva was not mentioned on the title-page: a clear breach of their otherwise rigorously enforced procedures.[28] There is no evidence that the Caen authorities were directly involved in this way, but the discretion shown by the city's printers certainly seems to have been appreciated. In 1564, when the religious climate in the city (as nationally) had altered quite considerably, and Protestants no longer enjoyed the freedoms of two years before, the local authorities could comment that 'the printers and booksellers of this city print and publish many suspect and scandalous books, in which neither the name of the author nor of the printer appears', for all the world as if this had come to their attention for the first time.[29]

   The Caen publisher most heavily committed to the publication of the Condéan tracts was the third member of the triumvirate of leading Protestant printers, Simon Mangeant.[30] The discovery of these political works is particularly interesting in his case, for otherwise Mangeant's stock in trade consisted entirely of editions of the New Testament and the Marot/Bèze psalms.[31] Between them Caen's printers accounted for a high proportion of the numerous editions of both works known to have been published in France during these years. To some extent this breach of the previous Genevan monopoly on these works was known of and approved in Geneva. De Bèze had himself orchestrated the publication of the complete psalm edition by a large number of different printers within France: this was the only realistic way to meet the huge demand for this cornerstone of congregational worship. But the Normandy editions of both the New Testament and the Psalter had their own distinctive characteristics, being supplied with a particularly full apparatus of glosses and supporting materials.[32] In the Psalter these were the work of the distinguished pastor, Augustin Marlorat, by 1561 established as the leading figure of the Rouen church, and later a tragic

---

[28] Bremme, *Buchdrucker*, pp. 79–86.
[29] '…les Imprimeurs & libraries de cette ville, impriment & mettent en verité plusieurs livres suspects & scandaleux & ausquels n'est escrit le nom, ou l'autheur, ou de l'imprimeur.' Lamet, 'Reformation in Caen', p. 292.
[30] Caen, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A. 1565/9, 14, 15, 16. See Figs. 3, 4.
[31] *RBN* (Mangeant), nos. 2–6.
[32] Bettye Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-language editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983), nos. 280, 281, 292, 316, 336, 338, 353.

victim of the Catholic vengeance which followed their repossession of the city in 1563.

Mangeant published four editions of the psalms and New Testament in as many years—a sure indication of the buoyant demand for these texts at this time. He was also the leading figure in the consortium responsible for the only full edition of the French Calvinist Bible published in Normandy during these years.[33] A complete Bible was obviously a publishing enterprise of a different order from the small books which were the stock in trade of most jobbing printers of the day, and to finance it Mangeant went into partnership with two other figures in the Caen publishing industry, Henry Auber and Louis Le Cordier.[34] The Bible was published in 1562 with the address, 'Saint Lô' (Fig. 6).

Why the three Caen publishers involved should have opted to have claimed this as a product of a St Lô printing house is something of a mystery. It is almost certainly not printed there—the printing materials are clearly those of Mangeant's Caen office, and it would have made little sense to transport these materials the 40 miles to St Lô to print a single book. No other book is known to have been published in St Lô before Thomas Bouchard established a small printing house there in 1564.[35] One possible solution is that even though the Bible was printed in Caen, the financial backing for the project came from the wealthy St Lô Calvinist community. This would certainly have been an extremely expensive book to finance, occupying as it would have done Mangeant's press for up to four months work.[36]

The end product of these endeavours was certainly a book of which all concerned could have been proud: a rich folio, lavishly decorated with initial letters and the fullest possible repertoire of the maps and technical diagrams which were all that the Calvinist churches were prepared to permit by way of illustration.[37] The woodcuts for the maps were shared with Pierre Philippe's pirated English Genevan Bible of

---

[33] Chambers, *Bibles*, no. 292. I have examined the fine copy in the library of New College, Edinburgh.

[34] On Auber and Le Cordier, *RBN*, p. 365.

[35] *RBN* (Bouchard). A Claudin, 'Les origines de l'imprimerie à Saint Lô en Normandie', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1894.

[36] This calculation is based on the size of the book, and the number of impressions that could be taken from a press in a single day. See here especially J.-F. Gilmont, 'La Fabrication du Livre dans la Genève de Calvin', in Jean-Daniel Candaux and Bernard Lescaze (eds.), *Cinq siècles d'imprimerie genevoise* (Geneva, 1980), pp. 89–96.

[37] Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600. An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva, 1991), 1.3.1/2, 2.3/3, 3.1/3, 5.2/3, 6.2/3.

the same year, but for the title-page the printers commissioned a new and striking decorative woodcut: a landscape dominated by a tree from which Absolom dangles from his hair. The surrounding motto draws the lesson: 'Le meschant sera surprins par ses iniquitez, et sera appre-hendre par les cordes de son peche.' [The sinner will be overtaken by his iniquities, and hanged by the rope of his own sins].

This choice of decorative illustration is itself interesting. The Absolom theme is very rare in the context of such woodcut art: I know of only one other example outside of a Bible text illustration, in an English pamphlet of the Edwardian period entitled 'the hurt of sedition'.[38] The adoption of such a theme in the French context might seem a little rich for a church which had grown in flagrant defiance of the law, particularly in Normandy where the progress of the Huguenot congregations (in both Caen and St Lô) had been accompanied by frequent violent attacks on Catholic church property. The use of such a design is perhaps an indication that by 1562 the Huguenot leader-ship was confident that their movement was passing into a new stage: from insurgency to new Protestant establishment. In such a context an appeal for the preservation of law and the social order would have seemed entirely appropriate.

More generally, the publication of so large a number of books for Calvinist congregational worship is itself a sign of the vitality and strength of the churches in Lower Normandy at this stage of the reli-gious conflict. Even with the ending of the first war in 1563, which brought considerable restrictions to the congregations' freedom of worship in many towns in France, the Huguenot strongholds of Lower Normandy remained largely insulated from its effects. In contrast to the provincial capital, Rouen, forcibly returned to Catholic control in 1563, Caen's Protestant community at first remained firmly in control, ignoring all restrictions on the number of Protestant churches laid down by the peace of Amboise, and allowing the re-establishment of Catholic worship within the city only with the greatest reluctance. The Norman congregations could not however ignore the rapid downturn in the church's fortunes elsewhere in France. A hint of this is contained in a new title-page woodcut design commissioned by Mangeant's for-

---

[38] *STC* 5109–5110 (3 eds. of 1549). The authorship of this work is attributed to Sir John Cheke. It was one of a number of works on a similar theme published in the wake of the popular uprisings of the summer of this year. I am very grateful to Vivienne Westbrook who first drew this woodcut to my attention.

mer partners Auber and Le Cordier, and used for the first time for an edition of the Marot/Bèze psalms published in 1564.[39] This shows a figure representing truth combating two warriors in the form of beasts, one tonsured, with the motto: 'Verité est à la fin victorieuse' [Truth wins out in the end]. The band separating the upper and lower levels has the less confident tag: 'Il ne faut aquiescer à homme quelconque contre la verité' [One must never give way to any man when truth is at stake], a sentiment which reflects the pressures under which Huguenots now operated in many parts of France. Bound with the only surviving copy of this work, in the library of Magdalen College, Cambridge, is a previously unrecognised edition of the French Confession of Faith, also emanating from the Caen printing shop of Auber and Le Cordier. Reflecting the new temper of the times, the Confession is here published with an extended (and apparently new) preface, protesting against the outrages which are now committed against members of the Reformed congregations within the kingdom of France.[40]

Catholic control of Caen was restored in 1568, in the wake of the short second war. But even now, relations between the faiths were significantly better than in many parts of France. The new Catholic majority in the city council was careful to avoid vindictiveness and reprisals, and on the whole relations between the faiths continued to be harmonious. This was possibly a constructive response to the discretion and moderation with which the former Protestant establishment had exercised their supremacy after the takeover of power in 1562; or it may simply have been the case that the Calvinists remained such a formidable presence at all levels of city life that any more aggressive action would have been counter-productive. The change in circumstances did require some adaptation on the part of Caen's Protestant printers. Although most continued to work, they now retreated into the discretion that had characterized their publications before the Calvinist takeover. Both Mangeant and Le Chandelier also gave increasing attention to the publication of Latin scholarly books for the local university community.[41]

---

[39] Cambridge, Magdalen College: A-21–29.
[40] *Confession de foy*, n.p. [= Caen, Auber & Le Cordier], 1564, sig. A2r: Les poures fideles qui sont involement diffamez, & affligez par le royaume de France, à cause qu'ils desirent de servir purement Dieu, sans se polluer aux superstitions de la Papulté, à tous ceux qui leur voudont prester audience. Cambridge, Magdalen College: A-21–29/2.
[41] *RBN* (Le Chandellier), nos. 21, 23, 26–30, (Mangeant), nos. 8–12.

This local tradition of relative harmony even survived the terrible events that followed the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. In Caen the city authorities worked effectively to prevent a local blood-bath. The city letter books preserved in the local departmental archive contain a fascinating document, a letter from the king requiring the city fathers to arrange for the local re-publication of the official tract explaining the reasons for Coligny's murder.[42] A copy of the prototype version published by Jean Dallier in Paris was enclosed, and still survives carefully filed along with the letter.[43] But there is no evidence that the Council ever took any steps to follow the King's instructions: in the local context it would certainly have been incendiary and counter-produc-tive. The contrast with events in Rouen is again instructive. Here news of the massacre in Paris prompted Rouen's Catholics to turn on the remnants of the once powerful Calvinist congregation in their midst. Several hundred people were hunted down and killed; many thousands of their badly intimidated brethren adjured the faith rather than lose their lives.[44] In Rouen there were still scores to settle from the brief period of Calvinist supremacy in 1562; in Caen, it seems that both sides valued the relatively good relations that had been maintained between the confessions enough to take steps to protect the newly vulnerable congregation from reprisals.

Nevertheless, something had to be done to remind Protestants that the old dispensation was at an end, and significantly it was the Calvinist print community who were singled out. The town council now set in train a formal visitation of the shops of three of the leading Protestant figures in the industry, Pierre Philippe, Etienne Thomas and Pierre Le Chandelier. The brief account of this investigation, discovered in the Caen archive by my student Alexander Wilkinson, makes fascinating reading, because there are clear hints that even this punitive raid may have been an elaborate charade staged with the collusion of those involved.[45] The commissioners arrived at Le Chandelier's shop to find the proprietor absent; his wife was left to display the stock. The official

---

[42] Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, 1 B 3, fols. 142–3. On other occa-sions the Caen council carried out very dutifully instructions to make proclamation of local edicts, as is proven by the printed copies of locally printed proclamations preserved in the same letter-book.

[43] *Declaration du Roy, de la cause et occasion de la mort de l'Admiral, & autres ses adherens & complices, derniereement advenue en cette ville de Paris*. Paris, Jean Dallier, 1572.

[44] Benedict, *Rouen*, ch. 5.

[45] Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, 1 B 3, fols. 150–53.

record shows nothing more sinister than a blameless selection of classical works and university textbooks. However, on the outside flyleaf there is a note of other texts found in a different room, including forty copies of Calvin's Commentary on Paul and 'several books of the format [used] in the Reformed churches'.[46]

The Calvinist publishers seem to have taken the lesson to heart. Although both Le Chandelier and Mangeant remained in business, they confined their work largely to blameless Latin texts. When Le Chandelier ventured once more into Protestant publishing later in the decade, he reverted once again to the stratagem of using false addresses.[47] But it was important that the Protestant presses survived even in this debilitated form, for in the last decade of the century Caen's presses would find a new role as loyal supporters of the authority of the former Protestant champion, Henri de Navarre. Here again the city took a deliberately divergent path from that of Rouen, a stubborn stronghold of the Catholic League. Caen was briefly rewarded for its loyalty with the transfer of the local parlement from Rouen until the provincial capital capitulated and recognised the inevitability of Henry's victory.

During the brief heyday of Protestant publishing within France, Caen's small printing shops turned out a total of around sixty Protestant books. It is a small but significant group, second only in size to the output of the mighty Lyon publishing industry, which also gave Protestant publishing a relatively free rein during these years. The popularity of these local editions, many of which were printed several times over in a short space of years, is an indication of the extent of the commitment to the new faith in the towns of Lower Normandy during these years. It was very important for these large and well organized congregations that there existed a reliable local supply of books, given the cost of transporting bulky goods from either Lyon or Geneva. As Caen's room for manoeuvre diminished, its role passed to La Rochelle, the new publication and distribution centre in the west of France.

The role of La Rochelle is well-established; the place of Caen in the annals of French Protestant printing much less so. The emergence of Caen's role from out of the shadows points to the value of research

---

[46] '…plusieurs livres de format des églises Reformées.' Idem, fol. 151.
[47] *RBN* (Le Chandelier), nos. 22 ('Zurich'), 25 ('Basqueville').

which combines bibliographical investigation with searches in local archives: the same techniques will undoubtedly reveal much that is not presently known about Protestant printing in Lyon and Paris. Within the purely bibliographical sphere, this case study also suggests certain conclusions which have a general application for the study of vernacular Protestant printing in France. Even with the often anonymous or unattributed works such as those identified here, the general concept of anonymity requires some refinement. There is a great difference between work published without mention of printer or place of publication, but clearly recognizable as the work of a particular print-shop, on the one hand, and, on the other, books published without any distinguishing marks whatsoever. The works of the Caen printers fall generally into the first category—which is what of course has permitted them to be identified here—as do most of the works printed in Lyon. In both places printers felt sufficiently safe from reprisal to own their handiwork, at least implicitly. Much of the anonymous editions published in Paris, however, are very much in the second category. Works of this sort may be the work of jobbing printers, new to the trade, but often their physical characteristics and workmanship suggest rather that these are books by accomplished printers who have deliberately removed any identifying features in order to avoid reprisals. Printers were well aware that the authorities often investigated illegal or incendiary works by carrying them round print shops and asking members of the trade to identify the culprit.[48] In the very different environment of fiercely Catholic Paris, an inopportune use of a distinctive decorative initial might have meant signing one's own death warrant.[49]

Secondly, this investigation of the output of the Caen publishing houses suggests that even in a developing market there was still room for a high degree of specialization. This operated both at the level of individual printers, and between printing centres. Even when printers were printing exclusively religious and Protestant works, which seems to have been the preference of most of Caen's printers, they confined their output to distinct sub-categories within the whole field of Calvinist writings. Caen's printers published no examples of the scathing satirical

---

[48] This was a technique used quite widely in Europe, including the tightly regulated Netherlandish and English printing industries.

[49] In July 1560 the Parisian printer Martin L'Homme was executed for having been found in possession of a stock of copies of François Hotman's anonymous attack on the Cardinal of Lorraine, *Le Tigre de France*.

pamphlets, many of them in verse form, which were so popular with the Protestant congregations. Works of this sort dominated the output of the Lyon printer Jean Saugrain, one of the major new forces to emerge during the years when French Protestantism was at its most ebullient.[50] That Caen printers avoided these popular and lucrative works may have been part of a self-denying ordinance intended to preserve harmony in the local community. If this was so it may have helped them avoid the bloody retribution that was the fate of printers in both Paris and Lyon when the balance of the local religious struggle turned against them.

---

[50] Chapter four.

Fig. 3.1   Requeste presentee au roy, 1562
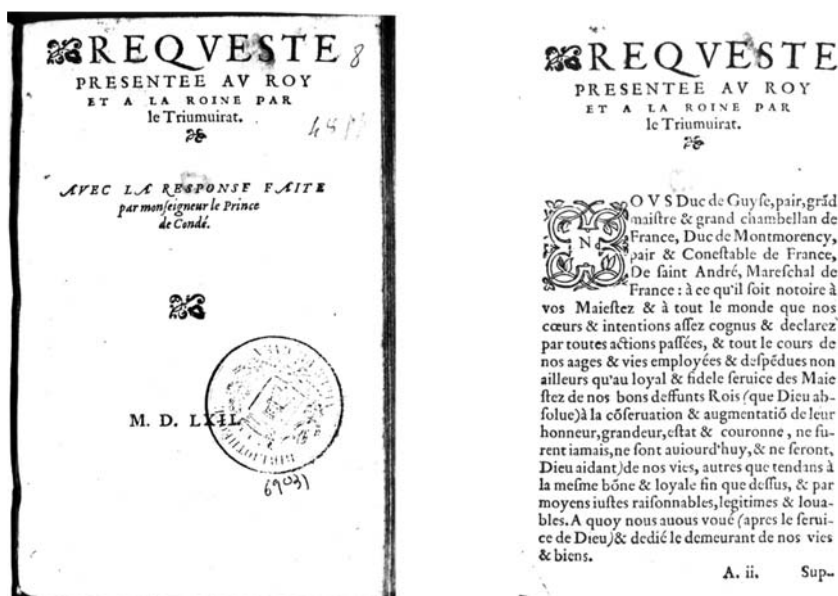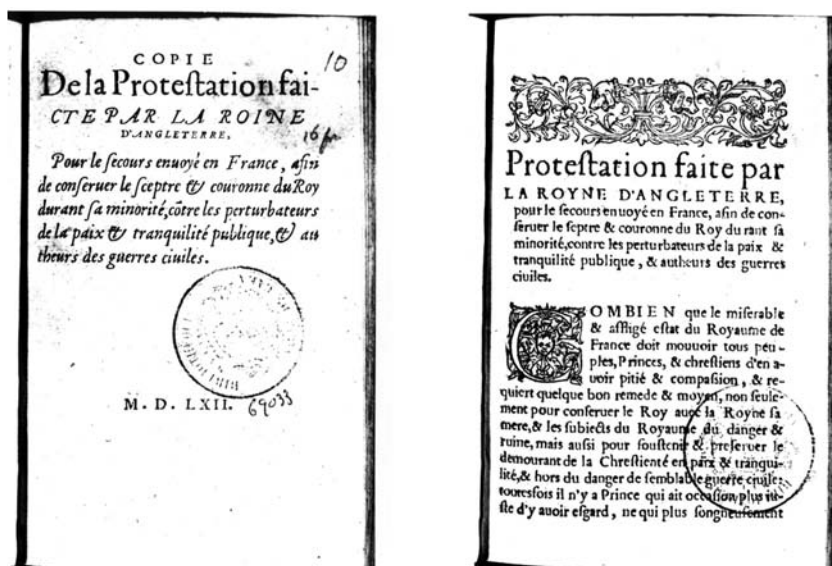

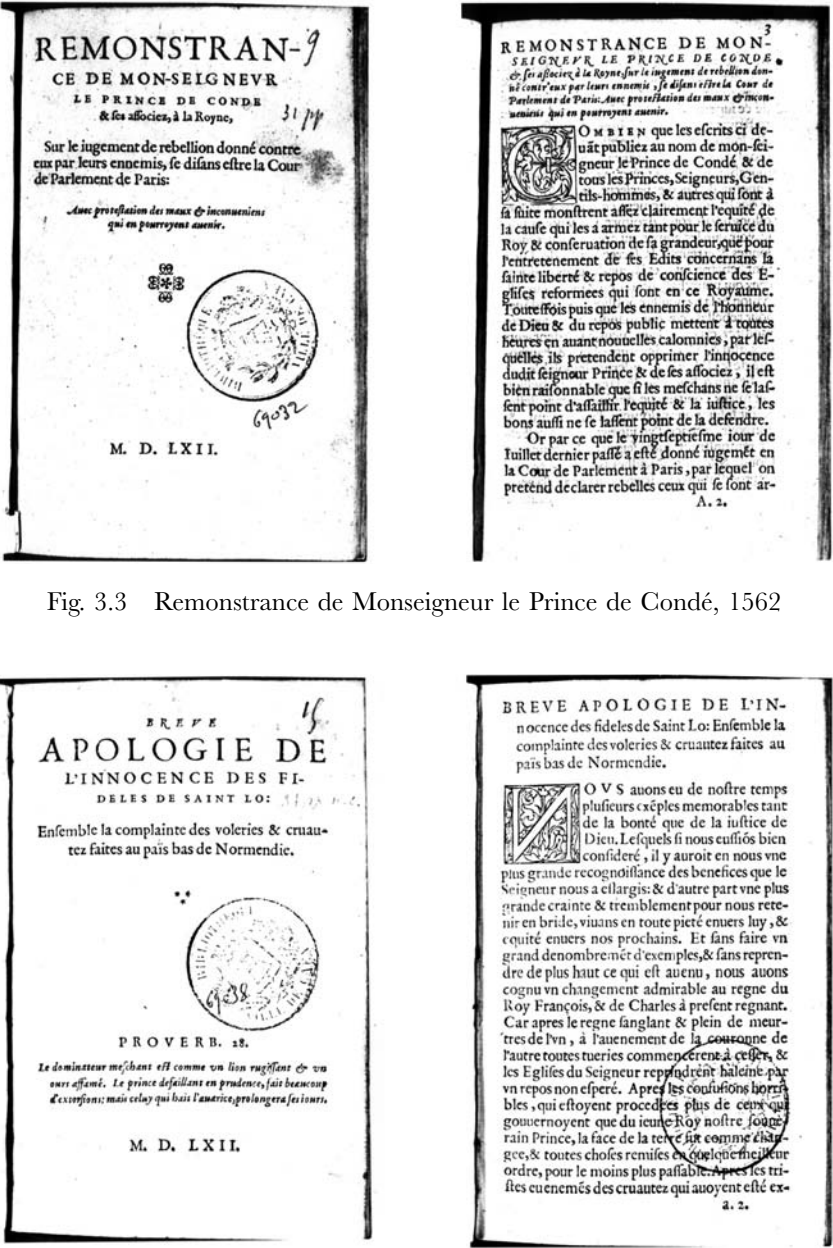Fig. 3.2   Copie de la protestation, 1562

Fig. 3.3   Remonstrance de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, 1562

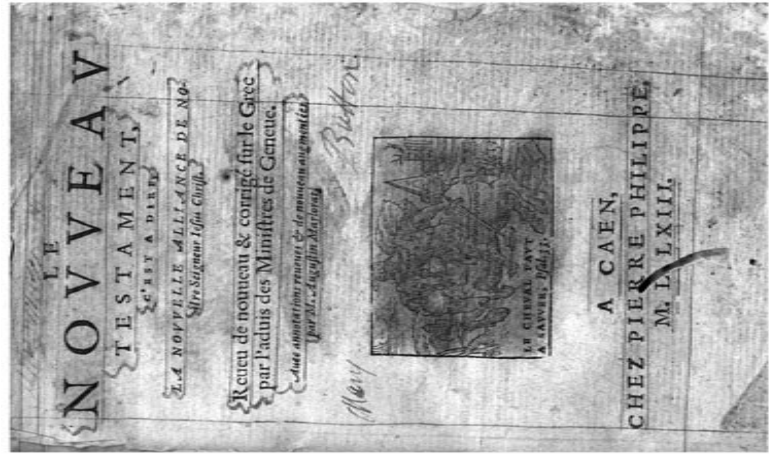Fig. 3.4   Breve apologie de l'innocence des fideles, 1562

Fig 3.6   Le Nouveau Testament, 1563

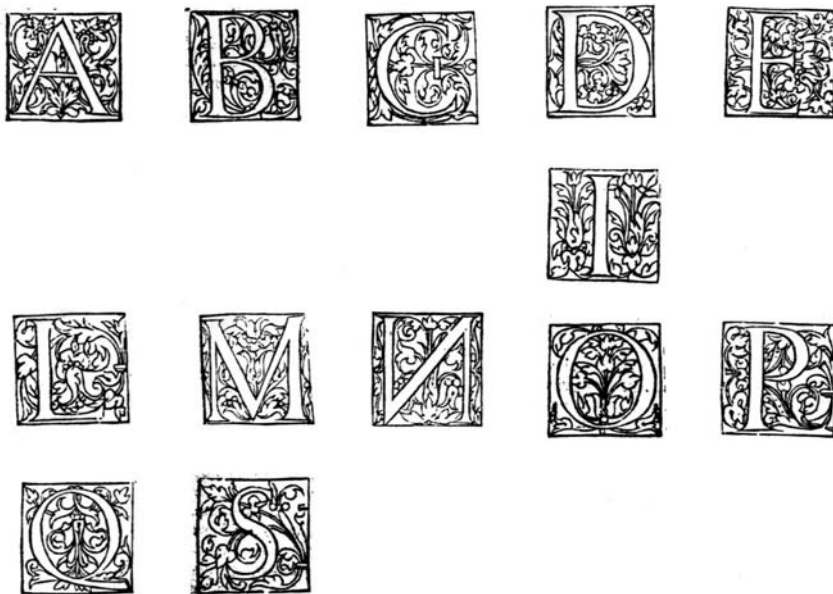Fig 3.5   La Bible, 1562, title page woodcut

Fig. 3.7   Reconstructed alphabet from Mangeant Bible
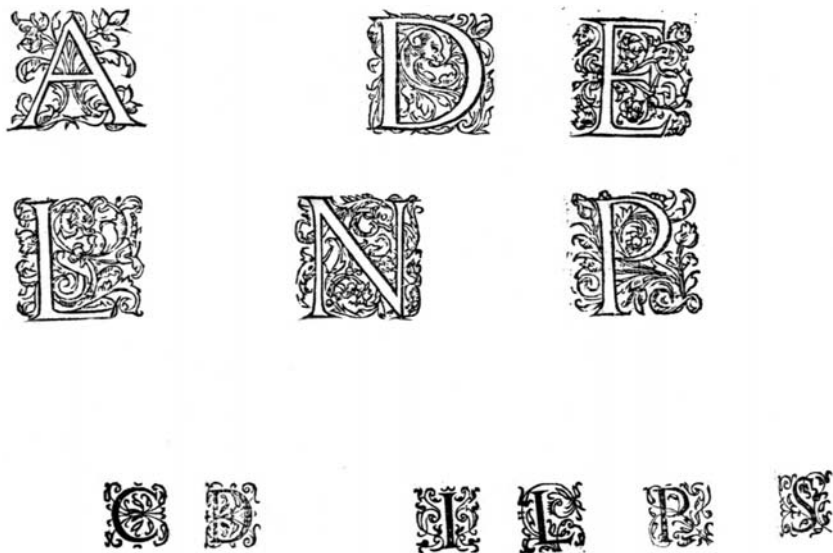
Fig. 3.8   Reconstructed alphabet from Philippe New Testament

CHAPTER FOUR

PROTESTANT PRINTING DURING THE FRENCH WARS OF
RELIGION. THE LYON PRESS OF JEAN SAUGRAIN

Some years ago in remarks to the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Heiko Oberman made a number of eye-catching observations about the current state of Reformation research. Introducing a session on French Calvinist church-building, Oberman pointed up the importance of recent new research in this field.[1] This new focus of interest suggested to him a fundamental re-orientation in Reformation scholarship. Indeed he was inclined to believe that the main focus of dynamic and innovative work in Reformation studies had now shifted from the first half of the sixteenth century to the second, and from Germany to France.

Such an observation, from one of America's most distinguished scholars, and a man who had devoted the main part of an illustrious career to exploring the intellectual origins and development of Luther's movement, was a significant recognition of an important renaissance in studies in the religious history of sixteenth-century France.[2] For my own research, it represented a second occasion in which our research interests had converged. Our scholarly paths had first crossed with his discovery of the 'Reformation of the Refugees' that crucial interlude in the mid-sixteenth century which eased the passage from a stalled Lutheran Reformation to the rise of Calvinism, for this had been the focus of my own doctoral research.[3] Now, in a rather different life stage, I too had experienced the pull of France, at much the same time as Professor Oberman issued his call to arms.

For the past five years I have been engaged in the first stages of a full bibliographical survey of religious works published in French

---

[1] Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Atlanta, October 1997.
[2] For a review of some of the most significant recent publications, Andrew Pettegree, 'Recent Writings on the French Wars of Religion', *Reformation*, 4 (1999), pp. 231–250.
[3] Heiko Oberman, '*Europa afflicta*. The Reformation of the Refugees', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), pp. 91–111. Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford, 1986). *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992).

during the course of the sixteenth century.[4] The historical questions
that lay behind this enterprise were a sense that scholars had not yet
provided a satisfactory explanation for the sudden success of the French
Calvinist movement in the middle decades of the century, after years
in which Protestantism in France had been successfully contained. As
the project had progressed, its initial findings have only deepened this
initial sense that France offers one of the unsolved mysteries of the
Reformation. How does one explain the great surge of enthusiasm for
Protestantism in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, so much
more perplexing than in Germany a generation before? In Germany
one could at least offer structural reasons for receptivity to Luther's mes-
sage: a weak constitutional structure, German patriotism, the Protestant
appropriation of the book. Yet in France, none of this applied. This
was one of the most centralised states in Europe, where the power and
prestige of the crown were emphatically placed behind the Catholic
Church. In France, to be patriotic was to be Catholic, and evangelical
sympathies something alien and foreign: so much so that blameless
German travellers risked denunciation as Lutherans more as a result of
their nationality than their actions.[5] Furthermore, and this is a crucial
point, in France the printed word was never exclusively evangelical
property. In the five years since we began a systematic investigation of
the sixteenth century religious book in France, it has become clear that
French print culture diverged from the German experience in almost
every respect. In France, the doctrines and practice of the Old Church
found eloquent and effective defenders almost from the first days of
the Reformation.[6] For all but a few years in the early 1560s, Catholic
authors traded blows with evangelicals on equal terms, book for book.

---

[4] For an initial statement, laying out the agenda and perameters of the French Book
project see 'Religious Printing in Sixteenth Century France', *Proceedings of the Huguenot
Society*, 26, 5, 1997, pp. 650–59. I acknowledge with gratitude the courteous assistance
of the rare book staff in municipal libraries around France, without whose this work
would have been impossible. Special thanks are due to Professor Olivier Christin,
of the University of Lyon (II), Mme. Beauvais of the Bibliothèque de l' Histoire du
Protestantisme Française (= BSHPF), Paris, and my colleagues in the St Andrews
Sixteenth Century Book project.

[5] For the Catholic response to early evangelical activity in France see R. J. Knecht,
Francis I (Cambridge, 1982). James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation
France* (Leiden, 1985). Jonathan A. Reid, 'France' in Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation
World* (London, 2000), pp. 211–24.

[6] Francis Higman, *Piety and the People. Religious Printing in French, 1511–1551* (Aldershot,
1996).

By the 1570s they had established a numerical and moral superiority which they never relinquished. And the visual media—the woodcut and satirical print which allegedly played so important a role for the Reformation in Germany (though I have my doubts)—these played virtually no role in France.

Yet despite all this, for a few short years in mid-century Protestantism did threaten to overwhelm France. Evangelicals built, from a standing start and with astonishing speed, a genuine mass movement. Furthermore, this was a movement over which the founding fathers of Calvinism played a far less controlling role than is sometimes proposed. French Calvinism took wing when Calvin was in the last years of his life, permanently settled in Geneva, and at times quite ill.[7] As the church took root in France, it developed in ways of which he could hardly approve: while Calvin counselled patience and resignation, the French Huguenot movement hurtled towards outright confrontation.[8] Even the organisation of the new urban communities in France's main cities sometimes deviated quite radically from the models proposed by the Calvinist ministers. The spirit of this movement—tempestuous, confrontational, and at times characterised by an astonishing popular militancy—cannot be explained by reference to the controlling hand of Geneva. There were other forces at work within France that need to be explored if we are to explain how Calvin's creed, complex and cerebral as it was, could become the cornerstone of a movement of mass activism.

What follows is an attempt to elucidate this process from the perspective of one important component in the process, France's second city, Lyon. It draws on the materials accumulated by the researches of the St Andrews French Book project, and particularly my own detailed study of Protestant books published in French over the course of the century. This has revealed a pattern of publication starkly different from that sometimes assumed in the literature published to date. In particular our sense of the dominant role of the Genevan publishing industry needs to be strongly qualified. When Calvin settled finally in Geneva

---

[7] Charles L. Cooke, 'Calvin's illnesses and their relation to Christian Vocation', in Timothy George (ed.) *John Calvin and the Church. A Prism of Reform* (Louisville, 1990), pp. 59–70.

[8] Calvin's changing attitude to resistance in the light of these developing events is brilliantly surveyed in Willem Nijenhuis, 'The limits of civil disobedience in Calvin's last-known sermons: development of his ideas on the right of civil resistance', in his *Ecclesia Reformata. Studies on the Reformation. Vol. II* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 73–97.

in 1541, his renown, and the security of the city as a haven of refuge, attracted to the new city of exile a number of distinguished members of the French publishing industry. By the end of the decade Geneva had established an effective monopoly of French language Protestant print, its crown jewels the French Protestant bible and the writings of John Calvin.[9] This continued, largely unchallenged, until French Calvinism began to experience its most expansive growth in the years after the death of Henri II in 1559.[10] Now a number of new publishing centres emerged to supply the greatly increased demand for Protestant books: in Normandy, Orléans, Lyon, even in Paris itself.

The case of Lyon is a particularly interesting one, for in engaging with the Reformation, and particularly with the Protestant book, Lyon was turning its back on an earlier tradition of scholarship that had been both distinguished and humane. In the early part of the sixteenth century Lyon was a renowned humanist centre.[11] Strategically positioned on the eastern periphery of French territory, Lyon was ideally situated to absorb and mediate the best of European intellectual culture: a conduit between Paris and northern Europe on the one side, and the buoyant urban societies of Italy, the Swiss Confederation and the Empire on the other. Blessed by its location, its trade connections and its fruitful hinterland, Lyon prospered: unassailable in its position as France's second city, by the early sixteenth century it had added to the glory of its four annual fairs a distinguished new tradition as a centre of the printed word. Like Basle to the east, Lyon exploited a position of relative independence from external regulation, along with excellent connections to other centres of learning, to build a strong tradition of humanist print. By the middle of the sixteenth century Lyon's great publishing barons, often of second or third generation Italian stock, were among the most substantial citizens of the city.[12]

------

[9] G. Berthoud, 'Les impressions genevoises de Jean Michel (1538–1544)', in *Cinq siècles d'imprimerie genevoise*, ed. Candaux, J.-D., and Lescaze, B. (2 vols., Geneva, 1980), vol. I, pp. 55–88. J.-F. Gilmont and R. Peter, *Bibliotheca Calviniana. Les oeuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVIᵉ siècle* (2 vols., Geneva, 1991–94).

[10] P. Chaix, A. Dufour, and G. Moeckli, *Les Livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (Geneva, 1966). J.-F. Gilmont, *Bibliographie des Editions de Jean Crespin, 1550–1572* (2 vols., Verviers, 1981).

[11] James B. Wadsworth, *Lyon 1473–1503. The Beginnings of Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

[12] For the most comprehensive survey to date of Lyon printing see Baudrier, H.-L. and Baudrier, J., *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIᵉ siècle* (12 vols., Lyon, 1895–1921). An attempt to replace Baudrier

If we look forward a dozen years a very different picture emerges. In September 1567 the Jesuit Emond Auger, now the principal Catholic preacher in the city, presided over a spectacular *auto-da-fe*.[13] The victims were not people but books: before a cheering and enthusiastic crowd the city authorities consigned to the flames several thousand volumes, including copies of some of the finest examples of the workmanship of Lyon's print shops. To most eyes this must seem a terrible violation of all Lyon stood for: the fury of religious intolerance taking the place of rational debate, the horrors of intolerance in place of humane letters. But in fact these events were of a piece with what had gone before; indeed, in many respects the inevitable denouement of a brief decade when Lyon had abandoned the tradition of high-minded scholarship for religious controversy of the most incendiary nature.

To explain this brief, transforming interlude, it is necessary to glance first at two other cities that would play a significant role in the history of Lyon's printing revolution: Paris and Geneva. At first sight the two had little in common. Paris, the capital of France, was home to the highest institutions of the state, an unshakeable bastion of orthodoxy. Geneva, the tiny, pugnacious and at times almost anarchic independent Swiss city, was from the 1530s a magnet for the dispossessed and outcast of French religious life. Yet each in their different ways posed a challenge for the city fathers of Lyon. Paris, the eternal rival, was the metropolis Lyon could never be, a reminder that the city's culture, though distinguished, was still essentially provincial. The rivalry with Geneva was of another sort, for here the Swiss city was the irritating young pretender. Having seen its economy decline when its mediaeval fairs were eclipsed by those of Lyon, recently Geneva now enjoyed an unexpected renaissance as French refugees crowded into the city, many of them bringing substantial wealth and business experience. In the forefront of this renaissance was the printing industry.

The market in Protestant books was one from which Parisian printers had been excluded, subject as they were to close controls on their output. Generally they submitted with good grace, though with greater reluctance when it came to editions of the vernacular Bible. The pioneering work of the distinguished French humanist scholar Jacques

---

with a more up-to-date bibliography is continuing. Sybille von Gültlingen, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* (10 vols., Baden Baden, 1992–2005).

    [13] On Auger, see A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind* (Ithaca, 1988).

Lefèvre d'Etaples had indicated that the demand for editions of the Scripture was as robust in France as in many other parts of Europe, particularly when, as in this case, they carried with them the lure of new scholarly discoveries.[14] And of course, this was a demand that the Parisian industry was very well placed to meet. Editions of the Bible were often bulky and expensive books, precisely the sort of work in which the well-capitalised and well-organised Parisian industry excelled. But the issue of the vernacular Bible in France had been settled early, and very much on the terms of religious conservatives. In 1526, at the urgings of the theological faculty of the University of Paris, the Sorbonne, the Parlement of Paris issued a blanket prohibition of editions of the Scriptures in French.[15] Parisian publishers, many of whom depended on the Parlement and Court for the bulk of their work (and the privileges that protected their market), had little choice but to submit. Henceforth any editions of the Bible published in French would be published either abroad or far distant from Paris: initially, with editions of the Lefèvre Bible, in Antwerp, later with the new Protestant version of Calvin and Olivétan, in Geneva.[16]

Paris's loss was Lyon's opportunity. Situated within, but on the very periphery of the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris, regulation of Lyon's printing industry was a great deal more lax. Now, spurred by the evident success of Geneva, Lyon embraced the new evangelical print. At first this involved only a cautious, hesitant involvement. Lyon publishers put out editions of the Genevan Bible, but shorn of its most controversial and incendiary annotations.[17] For some years the new market was pursued discreetly, almost without disturbing the normal production of the Lyon presses. The stock in trade of Lyon publishing continued to be substantial editions of the classics, school books, medical texts and technical manuals.

---

[14] On Lefèvre, Jean-François Pernot (ed.), *Jacques Lefèvre D'Etaples (1450?–1536)* (Paris, 1995).

[15] Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva, 1979), p. 26.

[16] For the Lefevre Bible in Antwerp, Bettye Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-language editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983), nos. 51, 62. Higman, *Piety and the People*, B 35, B 39. For Geneva Bibles, Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles*, nos. 82, 128, 150 etc.; Higman, *Piety and the People*, B 43, B 54, B 59 etc.

[17] Chambers, *French Bibles*, nos. 109, 114, 134, 146. Higman, *Piety and the People*, B 49, 51, 55, 58.

Yet around 1560, all of this changed quite abruptly. The full extent of this change is only recently evident, as the St Andrews Sixteenth Century French book project charts the growth of Protestant printing within France in the short period between 1560 and 1567. To some extent full understanding of this phenomenon is only possible through a painstaking reconstruction of the output of individual publishers and printers; and since they often published anonymously, this requires detailed analysis of typefaces and decorative features. But it is clear already that a decisive intervention by a small group within Lyon's printing industry, riding a rising tide of demand, was able during these years to transform the character of Lyon publishing, as it would turn out, irreversibly.

Many of those most closely involved were established figures in the Lyon publishing fraternity: men like Jean de Tournes, Sebastian Honorati, and the brothers Senneton.[18] These men were not among the largest publishing barons, but they were well capitalised and established figures, capable of fine and sophisticated work. This was revealed in the years after 1561, when these three firms turned out numerous editions of the Huguenot Bible and Calvin's *Institutes* and *Commentaries*, all in beautifully produced, expensive folios.[19] But this was only one face, the acceptable public face, of Lyon Protestant print. Lyon's evangelical publishing during these years also had a less edifying aspect: works that were combative, polemical and incendiary, calling down ridicule and contempt on the old church in small, cheaply produced books intended for a mass audience. These books have been far less frequently associated with Lyon, partly because they seem so obviously out of character, and partly because, being published without any formal identification, they are not easily associated with a particular press. But for all that it was works of this sort that for a few years became Lyon's most distinctive contribution to the literature of the religious wars.

---

[18] On De Tournes, A. Cartier, *Bibliographie des editions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais* (2 vols., Paris, 1937–38). On Honorati and the Senneton brothers see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 4: 113–193 (Honorati), 7: 367–450 (the Senneton).

[19] *Bible* (Lyon, Des Tournes, 1561); *idem*. (Lyon, de Tournes, 1564), Calvin, *Commentaires sur la Concordance* (Lyon, Honorati, 1562); *idem*, (Lyon, Honorati, 1563); *Epistres Paul* (Lyon, Honorati, 1562); *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* (Lyon, de Tournes, 1562), id. (Lyon, Honorait, 1563); *Leçons sur les prophetes* (Lyon, Honorati, 1563). Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles*, nos. 273, 335. Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, nos. 62/3.1, 62/5, 62/10, 63/7, 63/14, 63/15.

Many of these books were the responsibility of the publisher Jean Saugrain.[20] Unlike Honorati, De Tournes and the brothers Senneton, Saugrain was not until this point a significant figure in the Lyon industry. His first involvement in the book trade dates from 1555, when he first began to publish in collaboration with his father-in-law, the blamelessly orthodox Benoist Rigaud.[21] Although these early works give no hint of his later religious commitment, they do suggest a search for a distinctive niche market. Rigaud and Saugrain published a number of what one might describe as popular classics in a distinctive small 16o format, including editions of Aristotle and Seneca.[22] They also dipped into the new religious controversies, though only (somewhat ironically in respect to Saugrain's later career) on the Catholic side. In 1558 they published Artus Desiré's *Grandes Chroniques et annales de Passepartout*, a scabrous and hard-hitting attack on the heresies emanating from Calvin's Geneva.[23]

In 1559 Saugrain separated from his father-in-law to establish his own independent enterprise. Although the contract gives no hint of this, it seems Saugrain split off specifically for the purpose of publishing Protestant books. The times were certainly propitious. After years struggling vainly to control the flow of heretical books entering France via the Lyon market, by 1560 the city fathers had virtually given up the uneven struggle. As France slid towards confrontation and civil war, in Lyon, as in so many of France's urban centres, the Protestant congregation became ever more numerous and defiant. In September 1560 an attempt by the Protestants to take the city by force was barely thwarted. The outbreak of war in 1562 brought a decisive tilt in the balance of power. In 1562 Lyon's increasingly confident Huguenot community seized control of the City Council, and of the city. Lyon became, briefly, a Protestant city.

---

[20] For what has previously been known of Saugrain's career see Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 4: 317–46.

[21] On Rigaud, Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 3: 175–471.

[22] Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnais*, 3: 196–205. In his early years as an independent publisher Saugrain continued this tradition with an edition of More's *Utopia: La Republique d'utopie, par Thomas Maure* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1559). 16o. Copies in Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale: 813060, Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale: Rés. DXVI 314.

[23] Artus Desiré, *Les Grandes Chroniques et annales de Passe par tout, Chroniqueur de Geneve, auec l' origine de Jean Couln, faucement surnommé Caluin.* (Lyon, Rigaud and Saugrain, 1558). Copy in Paris, BSHPF: Rés. 7360. F. S. Giese, *Artus Désiré. Priest and Pamphleteer of the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1973).

For a time the churches were given over exclusively to Protestant worship, and the Mass abolished. This period, characterised by militancy on the part of the Huguenot leadership and increasing tension with the Catholic majority, proved fleeting. Even as the war continued, it became clear that it would be impossible to preserve Lyon as an exclusively Protestant city, and as the fighting petered out in 1563 negotiations began for a more equitable settlement. With the Peace of Amboise, ending the first conflict, Lyon was gradually restored to royal control. The Catholic clergy were permitted to re-enter the city, and in December a new Council was established with equal numbers of Protestant and Catholic members. The Protestants vacated the churches, on the promise of permission to build their own temples: three were constructed to house a congregation that at its peak reached some 15,000 members. From 1562 the Huguenot community enjoyed the ministry and guidance of Pierre Viret, Calvin's lieutenant and the senior member of the Calvinist hierarchy in France; a recognition that the church in Lyon was vital to the future prospects of the Huguenot movement in France.[24]

The new times demanded a new type of literature, and Jean Saugrain was on hand to supply it. While the established members of the Protestant book world concentrated on more substantial classes of literature—Protestant scholarship, Bibles and congregational handbooks—Saugrain's works breathed the spirit of confrontation. Many of his books were extremely short, no more than one or two sheets (16 to 32 pages), and published in an accessible octavo format and bold legible types. Most could be described as works of popular polemic, excoriating the Mass, ridiculing priests, celebrating the Protestant triumphs of the day and lauding the movement's military leadership.

In the last two years I have been endeavouring to reconstruct an inventory of works published by Saugrain. This is not straightforward, because in common with many of Lyon's publishers Saugrain did not operate his own press, but instead employed the services of a variety of print shops. As a result Saugrain's works use a wide range of types, and the distinctive initial letters found in his books are not exclusive to his works alone. This is especially the case where the woodcut alphabets were the property of the printer, rather than the publisher. Nevertheless

---

[24] Stuart Foster, 'Pierre Viret in France, 1559–1567' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St Andrews University, 2000).

a careful analysis of print types and initials does yield dividends, not least by placing firmly in Lyon a large proportion of the anonymous Protestant works published in the years 1561–1563. And amongst this body of work Saugrain's output has a remarkably clear profile: short, popular works aimed at a wide readership, and all relentlessly, uncompromisingly anti-Catholic in character.

  Saugrain's enterprise first emerges as a major force in 1561, the year that saw an enormous expansion of the Calvinist movement throughout France. During this year Saugrain provided for the many new adepts editions of many of the most popular works of this phase of the conflict. These included editions of Protestant manifestos submitted by the Protestant ministers in June 1561, and by Theodore de Bèze at the Colloquy of Poissy, and the popular anonymous tract, *La Maniere d'appaiser les troubles*.[25] There were also editions of works of popular theology such the anonymous *Sommaire recueil des signes sacrez*, and a notable example of the new genre of martyology, the *Vray Histoire du Antoine du Bourg*.[26] Du Bourg was a magistrate of the Parlement of Paris, executed in 1560 for his defiant stand for the principle of toleration against an enraged Henri II. Du Bourg was by far the highest born victim of the repression to date, and his execution by burning made a deep impact.[27] In 1560 and 1561 Protestant presses turned out at least half a dozen different works recording his confession of faith in defiance of his Catholic judges and celebrating his life and sacrifice. The same themes were taken up in Etienne du Tronchet's verse work, the *Monologue de la Providence divine*.[28] Here God speaking as Providence reproaches the French people with ingratitude that they sent to their deaths men like Du Bourg, whom He had charged with making His

---

[25] *Requeste presentée au roy* (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1561); *Seconde requeste* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561); La troisieme requeste ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561). *Response faite par Besze sur ce qui le Cardinal de Lorraine auit replique* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1561). *La maniere d'appaiser les troubles qui sont maintenant en France* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561). Copy in Paris BSHPF: Rés. 8493.

[26] *Sommaire recueil des signes sacrez et sacremens instituez de Dieu et la vraye origine du sacrifice de la messe* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561. Copy Paris, Mazarine: 23476 bis. The year 1561 saw five editions of the *Sommaire recueil*, two published in Caen and two by Saugrain in Lyon. The text is variously attributed to Theodore de Bèze and Pierre Viret, but the true author remains unknown. The work also elicited a response from the leading Catholic polemicist Gentian Hervet, *Confutation d'un livre pestilent et plein d'erreurs, nommé les signes sacrez* (Rheims, Jean de Foigny, 1564).

[27] For du Bourg see Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith. The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 237–45.

[28] Etienne du Tronchet, *Monologue de la Providence divine* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1561). Baudrier, *Bibliographie*, 4: 329.

will known to them. God's true intentions were revealed in the manner in which events had favoured the Reformed since the death of Henri II: a commonly held belief that helps explain the breathless growth of the evangelical communities in these years.[29]

Works such as these were the stock in trade of new Calvinist churches, but Saugrain also began in this year to experiment with the small, scurrilous anti-Catholic works that would become his distinctive contribution to the literature of the movement. Works like the *Sac et pieces pour le Pape de Rome* and the *Grand pardon et pleniere remission* recalled the rhetorical tone of the evangelical works of the 1530s, eschewing reasoned argument or careful articulation of Calvinist theology for gay ridicule of the Pope and his minions.[30] The *Sac et pieces* also made use of the popular form of the antithesis, contrasting the commandments of God with those of the Pope: a rhetorical tradition that reached right back to the first generation of the Reformation with Lucas Cranach and the *Passional Christi und Antichristi*.[31] One of the most popular works of these years was the *Glaive du geant goliath* of Charles Leopard, a collection of passages chosen from Canon law denying the authority of the Pope and demonstrating that the predictions of the Bible concerning the coming of Antichrist were realised in his person.[32] Saugrain's edition was one of at least five published in France at this time.

The year 1562 was decisive for the Lyon Protestant community, and Saugrain's works played their part in promoting an increasingly incendiary atmosphere. He continued to publish works of popular theology such as Guy de Brès's *Baston de la foi* and Barthélemy Causse's *Vrai bouclier de la foi*.[33] But in addition Saugrain now brought to the market many more of the original popular works which were now his stock in trade. These were books like the *Adieu de la messe* and *Consommation d'idole*

---

[29] Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1975).

[30] [Nakol], *Sac et piece pour le Pape de Rome* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561). Copy Paris BSHPF: André 598. *Grand pardon et pleniere remission pour toutes personnes, et durant à perpetuité* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561). Copy in Paris, BNF: D2 4234/1.

[31] Gerald Fleming, 'On the Origin of the Passional Christi und Antichristi and Lucas Cranach's contribution to Reformation Polemics', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1973), pp. 351–68. The tradition of Cranach's woodcuts lived on in France in a popular French version edited by Simon Rosier. See Higman, *Piety and the People*, L94, L95.

[32] Charles Leopard, *La Glaive du geant goliath* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1561). Copies in Paris, BSHPF: Rés 7828 and Rés 12846.

[33] Guy de Brès, *Baston de la foi* chrestienne (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1562). Copy in Paris BSHPF: Rés. 12924 bis. [Barthélemy Causse], *Vrai bouclier de la foi chrestienne* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1562. Copy in Paris BSHPF: Rés. 15324.

de Paris, small, pugnacious and highly incendiary works that celebrated the acts of popular iconoclasm which were putting relations between the competing faiths beyond repair.[34] The *Consommation d'idole* presented a clear justification for religious warfare, arguing that it was justifiable if necessary to shed blood to carry out God's judgement and eradicate idolatry from the capital. Very few ministers in the Calvinist hierarchy would have gone this far.

When mutual provocation turned to open warfare Lyon's printers were on hand to celebrate the Huguenot conquest of Lyon in verses composed for the occasion. These included works like the *Cantique nouveau, contenant le discours de la guerre de Lyon*, and the *Cantique et action de Grace au Seigneur*. This latter gave thanks for the Protestant victory in verses designed to be sung to the tune of one of new Protestant psalms (psalm seven). Singled out for special praise was the leadership of the Protestant Princes:

> *O bien-heureux tous nobles Princes*
> *Qui de vos terres & provinces*
> *Ayans dechassé l'Antechrist*
> *Receu auez Iesus Christ.*
> > *Heureux voys ferez d'avantage*
> *Si vous gardez foy et hommage*
> *Ainsi qu'en estez obligez,*
> *A Dieu qui vous a deschargez.*[35]

The Huguenots are at this point very conscious of their obligation to the great Protestant Lords, expecially Condé, now since the defection of the King of Navarre the undisputed leader of the Huguenot cause. In 1562 Saugrain acknowledged this obligation in *Deux chansons spirituels*, dedicated *à la louange de monsieur Loys de Bourbon, prince de Condé.*[36] There is at this point no sign of the disillusionment with the Protestant *grands* that would follow the compromises of the Peace of Amboise.

At this point the Huguenots of Lyon had much for which to give thanks, and their literature shows all the self-confidence that is a striking characteristic of this phase of the movement. With control of the

---

[34] *Adieu de la messe* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1562). Copy Paris BNF. *Consommation d'idole de Paris* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1562). Copy in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3977/10.

[35] *Cantique et action de Grace au Seigneur* (Lyon, 1562), sig. B2r. Copy in Lyon BM: 373717.

[36] *Deux chansons spirituelles* (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1562). Copy in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3982/1.

city secured, the Huguenots celebrated the consequent expulsion of the hated Catholic priests in forthright satire that left little to the imagination. The *Discours de la vermine et prestraille de Lyon, dechassee par le bras fort du Seigneur* is a pretended dialogue, in which the Catholic religious lament the loss of their luxurious and corrupt lifestyle:

> *A dieu helas! Mes plaisirs mes amours,*
> *Adieu liesse, adieu tous les esbas:*
> *Adieu confort, adieu l'aise & soulas,*
> *Adieu le cloistre, adieu tous les fins tours:*
> *Adieu la souppe, & adieu moynerie,*
> *Adieu vous dy la trippe la bedaine*
> *Adieu choux gras, prez, puyts & la fontaine,*
> *Adieu vergers ou ma ioye est perie:*
> *Adieu soyez mes frippons & racaille,*
> *Adieu vermine & toute la prestraille,*
> *Adieu vous autres, quand on dict qu'on s'en aille:*
> *Adieu mes iours, mon lict & mon repos,*
> *Adieu mes vins, adieu vous dy mes pots,*
> *Adieu trestous de l'Antechrist supposts:*
> *Adieu my Nymphe, mon tendron, ma ianette,*
> *Adieu faucons, plaisante venerie,*
> *Adieu oyseaux, adieu mes petis chiens,*
> *Adieu barbets, plus ne vous entretiens,*
> *Adieu les carthes, les dez & piperie,*
> *Adieu helas, nostre friponnerie,*
> *Adieu perdrix, pigeons, poulets, pluuiers,*
> *Adieu la sauce qu'on fait sur les ramiers,*
> *Adieu chapelles & pain de liuraison,*
> *Adieu vous dy, sans faute, c'est raison,*
> *Adieu chasteau, bassecourt, & maison,*
> *Adieu mes vins d'amoureuse liqueur,*
> *Adieu vous dy tous mes freres à milliers,*
> *Adieu Conuers, & tous les Cordeliers:*
> *Adieu vaisselle, & la tapisserie,*
> *A Dieu soyez Jacopins & Prelats:*
> *Adieu Chanoines, à dieu gaudisserie,*
> *Adieu trestous, à dieu car je suis las.*[37]

It is highly significant that works such as this seemed, judging from Saugrain's output, to have been so popular at precisely this brief, triumphalist moment of the Lyon church's existence. Overall a very

---

[37] *Discours de la vermine et prestraille de Lyon, dechassee par le bras fort du Seigneur* ([Lyon], 1562), A5v–6v. Copy in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: 394.91 Quod. (11).

significant proportion of Saugrain's publications during this year was in
verse. This is a fact of real importance, particularly if one is attempt-
ing to explain how French Calvinism succeeded in engaging a mass
popular audience during these years of rapid expansion: years during
which its support base moved far beyond the small core congregations
that had sustained it during the early years of persecution. The role
played by popular literature has to this point remained obscure, partly
because the sheer extent of the Huguenot achievement in turning out
so many short polemical works has never been fully recognised. Now
as the full extent of this publishing phenomenon emerges, one can
discern more exactly the potential interface between this triumphalist
satirical literature and official church publications.

Here a vital link was provided by these verse works, and their close
affinity with the Huguenot psalms. I have tried elsewhere to explore
the role of the metrical psalms as a polemical party tool, and it was
precisely during these years, with the publication of the complete
translation of the Marot/Bèze metrical psalm translations, that they
achieved their maximum impact and exposure.[38] The Lyon publish-
ing industry was certainly in the forefront of the drive to generalise
use of the psalms. In 1562 the most prominent Lyon printers joined
colleagues in Geneva, Paris and Normandy to turn out a massive col-
laborative edition of the complete Marot/Bèze psalter: 30,000 copies
were brought to the market in a single year.[39] Saugrain, as far as we
know, was not part of this collaborative enterprise but he was quick
to exploit the growing familiarity with the metrical psalms and their
tunes. Many of Saugrain's verse works, though they contain no musical
notation, nevertheless announce that they are to be sung to the tune
of this or that psalm.[40]

---

[38] Andrew Pettegree, *Huguenot Voices: the Book and the Communication Process during the Protestant Reformation* (Greenville, NC, 2000).

[39] Eugenie Droz, 'Antoine Vincent. La propagande protestant par le psautier', in G. Berthoud (ed.), *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva, 1957), pp. 276–93.

[40] See the *Cantique et action de grace* (note 35, above); *Ode Hystoriale de la Bataille de sainct Gile, sur le chant du Pseaume huitante vn* (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1563). Copy in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3982/4; *Echo parlant a la paix…sur le chant du pseaume trente trois* ([Lyon, Saugrain], 1563). Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3982/5. Saugrain did have access to musical notation for a number of his works: [Nakol] *Confession de la foy chrestienne, laquelle a esté mis en rime Françoise* (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1562). Copy in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3982/8. *L'epistre que le prophete Jeremie envoya à ceux qui estoyent menez captifs en Babilon* (Geneva [=Lyon, Saugrain], 1562). Copy in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3982/3.

All of this raises, in a most interesting way, the question of audience. I have noticed in a different context that a large part of the brilliance of Protestant pedagogy was the ability to address the body of believers in works carefully gradated to different levels of understanding. This was certainly true of Lyon's Protestant publishers. While the more established figures concentrated on works of intellectual weight, Calvin's Biblical commentaries and the longer works of Pierre Viret, Saugrain addressed, and very effectively, a much wider audience. But this was not exclusively an uneducated clientele. Saugrain's anti-Catholic verses were enjoyed in Lyon's most elegant salons, as well as on the streets and in the taverns. These were the households that enjoyed other small works of popular religious recreation, such as Jean de Tournes's *Figures de la Bible*, small volumes of biblical illustrations with accompanying verses.[41] In the last few years, historians of the Reformation have learned to be more careful in how we distinguish popular and elite culture, and this evidence certainly provides further pause for thought. Though there were undoubtedly cultural forms and activities which were the exclusive property of the elite, one should never discount elite interest in more 'popular' religious forms.[42] If Saugrain's books were of a certain recognisable type, his purchasers ranged across the full spectrum of Lyon society.

One of the clearest conclusions to emerge from this investigation of the French Protestant book world thus far, is the unexpectedly high degree of specialisation by different publishing firms. This stratification of the market—on the supply side at least—extended beyond the organisation of the Lyon industry. In Lyon Saugrain enjoyed almost exclusive control of a particular type of Protestant print, the short, hard-hitting anti-Catholic verse or prose diatribe. But in fact, this type of work was not much favoured in other printing centres away from Lyon either. For different reasons other important centres of Protestant print active during these years—Caen, Orléans and of course Geneva—all eschewed the sort of work that for Saugrain had proved so successful. This is something that can only now be said with confidence as the St Andrews book project begins to deliver its most interesting data. In the first instance one is inevitably most impressed

---

[41] *Quadrains historiques de la Bible* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 155). Cartier, *De Tournes*, no. 292, with many subsequent editions.

[42] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992).

by the sheer volume of Protestant publishing: over 1100 editions in a
fury of production between 1560 and 1565.[43] But as one delves deeper,
what emerges is the clear specialization within the market. In another
recently published article I discuss the importance of the hitherto under-
appreciated Protestant publishing industry in Caen, Normandy. In fact,
Caen's printers published only certain types of works: congregational
handbooks, standard works of Protestant exegesis, and manifestos of
the movement's political leadership. Strikingly, most likely in deference
to the wishes of the Caen city council, Caen's printers totally eschewed
works of the incendiary type popularised by Saugrain.[44] Geneva's print-
ers too avoided the wilder polemic, in deference to the city fathers'
wish to avoid overt provocation of the French crown.[45] Meanwhile the
press of Eloi Gibier in Orléans functioned primarily to publish the
political manifestos of Condé and the Huguenot military leadership.[46]
The small, popular tracts published by Saugrain thus because indelibly
associated with Lyon; a development which only ten years previously
would have amazed and appalled the lofty Humanist scholar publishers
who dominated the industry.

Saugrain was not unaware of these sensitivities, which may explain
why many of these works, though in no sense disguised, were never-
theless published without his name on the title-page. But such a dis-
simulation was threadbare, for form's sake only; to contemporaries with
any knowledge of the industry these would have been as recognisably
Lyon work as they are to modern bibliographers. When the wheel of
fortune turned against Lyon's Protestants, this polemical contribution
would be neither forgotten, nor forgiven.

The treaty that ended the first of the wars of religion in 1563 brought
no real peace in Lyon. The Catholic Mass was restored, and Catholics
returned to the City Council, but harmony among the confessions was
not so easily recreated. A legacy of bitterness, reinforced by events sur-
rounding the Protestant coup of 1562, remained, and the Protestant

---

[43] This represented one third of all the Protestant and evangelical books published
in French during the sixteenth century.

[44] Andrew Pettegree, 'Protestantism, Publication and the French Religious Wars: the
case of Caen', in Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (eds.), *Continuity and Change. The
Harvest of Late-Mediavel and Reformation History* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 163–79. Chapter 3.

[45] In 1563 Thibauld Jourdain had his *Pot aux roses de la prestraille papistique* published
in Lyon, having been refused permission to have it published in Geneva. J.-F. Gilmont,
Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé (Geneva, 1997), p. 335.

[46] Louis Desgraves, *Elie Gibier imprimeur à Orléans (1536–1588)* (Geneva, 1966).

leadership did little to defuse tensions, continuing their campaign against Catholicism in print and from the pulpit. Once again Saugrain was among the most enthusiastic proponents of confrontation. The steady stream of publications that appeared under his name included works of exegesis by leaders of the Reformed movement both at home and abroad. Notable among them were Heinrich Bullinger's *Perfection des chrestiens* and *De la seule foy en Christ* (two of more than thirty editions of the works of the Zurich Reformer in French translation) and the *Discours du vray sacrifice* of Jean de L'Espine.[47] But there were also books with a more polemical edge: works such as the *Response au discours de M. Gentian Hervet* of Jean-Loys Micqueau and Antoine du Pinet's highly successful anti-Papal satire, the *Taxe des parties casueles*.[48] Saugrain also published at least two editions of the famous *Polymachie des marmitons*, one of the few works of Protestant polemic that built on a visual image: in this case the image of the Papal stewpot (*marmite*) sent tottering by the Protestant assault.[49] Most importantly, Saugrain played a major role in bringing to the press the polemical work of Pierre Viret. Now that the Reformed church had lost its dominant place in Lyon, the leadership of Viret was more than ever important. He rose to the challenge, with a flurry of new writings justifying the church and expounding the Christian doctrine. Saugrain's press was responsible for a number of the most hard-hitting and successful of these new works, including three editions of *Les cauteles de la messe*, the *Institution des Heures Canoniques*, and the *De l'authorité et perfection de la doctrine des sainctes escritures*.[50]

The publications of these years shed interesting light on the real state of religious relations in France during a period when the Crown advocated, and loudly proclaimed, the virtues of co-existence. A real attempt had been made to make the Peace of Amboise the basis of a

---

[47] Jean de l'Espine, *Discours du vray sacrifice et du vray sacrificateur* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1563). Copy in Paris, BSHPF: Rés. 16063/1. Heinrich Bullinger, *De la seule foy en Christ justifiante* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1565). Copy in Paris, BNF: D2. 3581. For the works of Bullinger in French see Joachim Staedtke, *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie* (Zurich, 1972).

[48] Jean Loys Micqueau, *Response au discours de M. Gentian Hervet sur ce qui les pilleurs, voleurs et brusleurs d'eglises disent qu'ils n'en veullent qu'au prestres* (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1564). Edinburgh National Libray of Scotland: Newbattle 1616/2.

[49] On the Marmite see Benedict, *Rouen*, pp. 54–6 (with illustration).

[50] Pierre Viret, *Les cauteles de la messe* (Lyon, [Saigrain] for Claude Ravot, 1564) and id., (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1564), the *Institution des Heures Canoniques* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1564). *De l'authorité et perfectiïon de la doctrine des sainctes escritures* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1564). Copies in Paris, BSHPF: André 514, André 515, André 518. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 4: 336.

permanent settlement of France's troubles. Catherine de Medici toured
the kingdom with the young King Charles IX, a visible symbol of unity.
Meanwhile writers close to the Court did everything in their power to
promote reconciliation. There was genuine disappointment when in
1567 the feuding religious factions took to arms once more.[51]

There were many reasons why the Peace of Amboise proved to be
unsustainable. Disputes over places of worship convulsed many localities,
for in truth the vengeful Catholic majority was not inclined to concede
more than absolutely necessary in areas where they had re-established
a tight grip on municipal politics. The sites established for Huguenot
worship were often chosen for maximum inconvenience, impossibly
distant from the main centres of population.[52]

In Lyon, the Huguenot congregations retained their churches, for the
moment at least. But close attention to the publishing activity during
these years gives a clear indication of why even here, as in so many of
France's cities, the optimism of the Crown was wholly unfounded. There
was no respite in the polemical battle. Huguenot authors continued to
lambaste the Papacy, the Mass, and the corruptions of Catholic wor-
ship in print. And now, thanks to the leadership of Emond Auger, the
Catholics had found their voice to respond. The polemical exchanges
between Auger and Viret were the most visible feature of these two
irreconcilable religious cultures; their debates spilled from the pulpit,
to the print shop, and back. The clear message of these Lyon events
was that relations between France's competing faiths were beyond
repair. Ultimately one or other of the conflicting factions would have
to prevail.

In Lyon this would be Catholicism. Through 1564 and 1565 the
Protestant congregations were gradually hemmed back, and mem-
bership began to decline. An interesting straw in the wind was the
publication during 1564 and 1565 of several works of a new genre,
warning members of the congregation of the danger of compromise.
In 1564 Saugrain published *Examples notables des jugemens de Dieu, en la
mort de plusieurs, pour avoir abandonné l'Evangile*.[53] Prominent among the

---

[51] For attempts to promote reconciliation in France see now particularly Olivier
Christin, *La paix de religion, L' automisation de la raison politique au XVIe siècle* (Paris,
1997).

[52] Nicola Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven, 1980).

[53] Baudrier, *Bibliographie*, 4: 337. See the equally forthright *Sentence redoutable et arrest
rigoreux du jugement de dieu, à l'encontre de l'impieté des tyrans* (Lyon, [Saugrain], 1564). Paris,
BNF: Lb 33/108.

examples cited was that of Francisco Spira, the Italian evangelical who died horribly shortly after having repudiated his faith and returning to Catholicism. Narratives of his life were a popular genre in every Protestant community threatened with the danger of backsliders. Similarly, the following year Saugrain published a new edition of the *Temporiseur* of Wolfgang Musculus, the first French edition of which had been published in England for the benefit of members of the French church in London.[54] Its re-publication was eloquent testimony to the creeping doubts that had now begun to assail Lyon's Huguenots, as a steady haemorrhaging of members saw their strength ebb away.

Their situation now began to deteriorate rapidly. In 1565 their charismatic leader Pierre Viret was summarily expelled from the city: the pretext was an edict banning all ministers from France (Viret was born in the Pays de Vaud); with this the congregation effectively put on notice. The resumption of warfare in 1567 gave the new majority the opportunity finally to move against their dissident co-citizens. An officially inspired popular riot led to the arrest and expulsion of the most prominent members of the Huguenot church. The new Protestant Temples were ransacked and then razed to the ground. Among the leaders of the church listed in an official document of proscription were several leading printers and publishers.[55] Most took the hint and left the city, relocating to Geneva.[56] Their surviving stock was committed to the flames. Lyon's Protestant presses were no more.

Those who fled the debris of their livelihoods did not, in the first instance, include Jean Saugrain. Perhaps his commitment had always been more commercial than personal; perhaps his father-in-law offered protection; in any case for a few years Saugrain hung on in Lyon, barely active as a publisher, and utterly eschewing any sort of polemical involvement. Saugrain's work during these years is a pale shadow of the glory years: there were a number of official edicts and small works

---

[54] *Le temporiseur en forme de dialogue par Eutychius Musculus* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1565. Copy in Paris, BSHPF: Rés. 12712. *Le temporiseur* (London, Mierdman, 1550). Copy in Paris, BSHPF: André 1191. See also in this connection Jean de l'Espine, *Traité des tentations et du moyen d'y resister* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1566).

[55] Including Antoine Vincent, the brothers Gabiano and Senneton. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 1: 166–7. There is a copy of the original ordonnance, *Ordonnance de messieurs les seneschal & gens tenans le siege Presidial en la ville de Lyon contre les detenteurs des biens de ceux de la religion pretendue reformee* (Lyon, Jove, 1568) in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: Leber 3985/9.

[56] Including Senneton, Honorati and Jean de Tournes.

hopefully promoting the ideal of peace between the religious factions; but the quantities were pitiful compared to his earlier activity.[57] With such work Saugrain could barely scratch a living, and he probably remained in Lyon only until it was clear that the local settlement in favour of Catholicism was irreversible. In the end he would recognise the inevitable, and quit the city: but not before he had organised a comfortable retreat, as printer to Henry of Navarre. His father-in-law Benoist Rigaud, meanwhile, remained to become one of the leading figures of Lyon's new exclusively Catholic book world, turning out literally hundreds of editions directed to the popular taste for news, religious and politics, into which Saugrain had tapped with such success. For the Lyon publishing world would never again be the sedate, humane culture shattered by the events of the 1560s. Challenged by the upsurge of Protestantism, Lyon's Catholic printers gave back like for like. Henceforth Lyon would be a leading centre of Counter-Reformation print, and in the later wars of religion, a notable Leaguer stronghold.

The brief history of Lyon's Protestant publishing raises many interesting issues. If Protestantism did not succeed in France, it was partly because Catholicism was so effectively defended. Firstly, the Catholics prevailed in the tense struggles that rescued cities like Lyon for the old faith during and after the first religious war. In 1563 the Huguenot community in Lyon was still numerous, but it was already reasonably clear that the chance to control the city was permanently past. Building on this success, in the polemical battles that followed Catholic theologians matched their Protestant adversaries blow for blow, insult for insult, page for page. By 1567 they had established a clear superiority, and the expulsion and the destruction of the community was little surprise.

The defence of Catholicism in France, as elsewhere in Europe, owed a great deal to ordinary Catholics whose revulsion at the Protestant assault on familiar ways of worship was visceral and instinctive.[58] France could scarcely have been saved for Catholicism had the French waited on the deliberations of the Council of Trent, and the painstaking implementation of its recommendations. The events of the French Wars of Religion still have much to teach us about how and why Protestantism

---

[57] Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 4: 341–5.
[58] Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken. The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999).

proved such a militant and disruptive force in the second half of the sixteenth century. But we also see also how the hostile and far from passive responses of the Catholic clergy and laity would arrest the movement's progress, reveal its limitations, and prevent the conversion of France—so passionately desired (and at one point even eagerly anticipated) by members of the Reformed congregations. This, perhaps, is the great untold story of the French Wars of Religion.

Fig. 4.1   Artus Desiré, Les Grandes
Chroniques, 1558

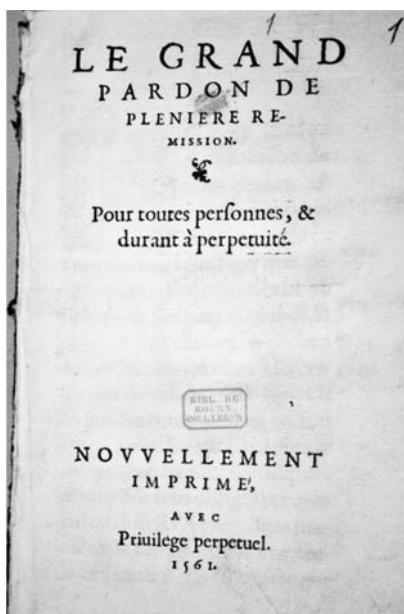Fig. 4.2   La republique d'Utopie,
1559

Fig. 4.3   Le grand pardon de
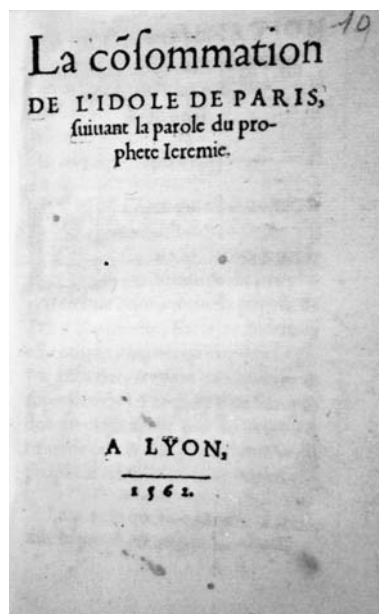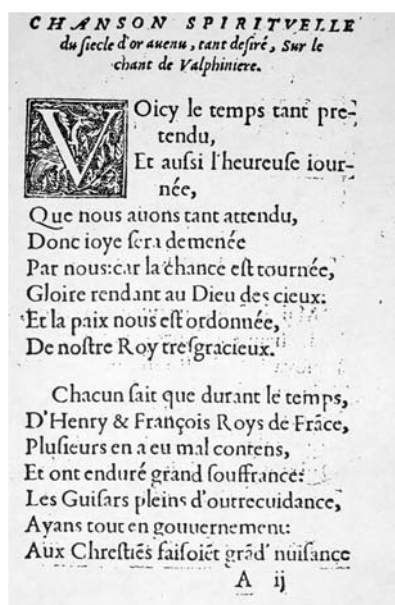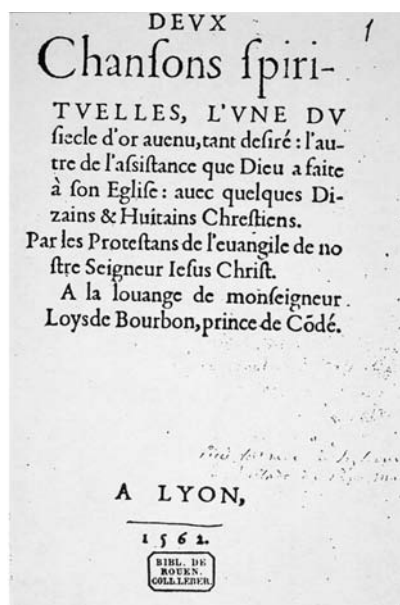pleniere remission, 1561
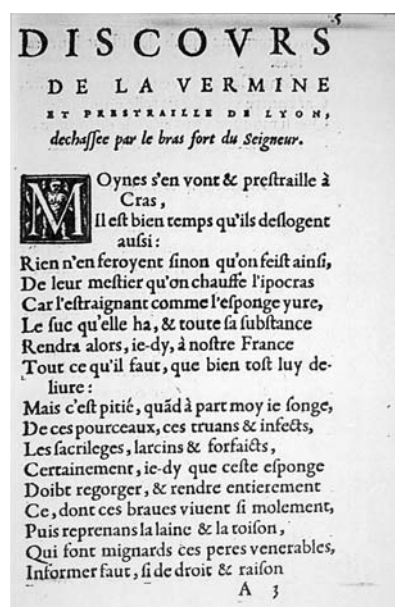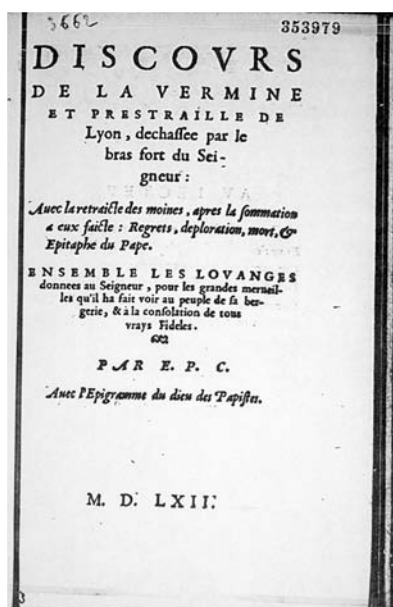

Fig. 4.4   La consummation de
l'idole de Paris, 1562

Figs. 4.5–6   Deux chansons spirituelles, 1562

Figs. 4.7–8   Discours de la vermine, 1562

GENEVAN PRINT AND THE COMING OF
THE WARS OF RELIGION

During his career in Geneva, John Calvin often found himself in disagreement with the city's governing powers.[1] Expelled once, when his view of the prerogatives of the ministerial office proved more than the town could stomach, even after his return he frequently tries the patience of his employers with his determined efforts to direct and shape the lives of the citizenry.[2] But the city and the reformer were in perfect agreement in welcoming Calvin's prolific output as a writer. Here the interests of city and minister coalesced. For Calvin, writing and publishing was an essential part of his vocation as a teacher. And from the time that he first published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* to offer the basics of the faith to those 'who hungered and thirsted for Christ' this was a vocation that he pursued with remarkable assiduity: through all the vagaries of Genevan politics, despite a hectic schedule as a preaching minister, through sickness and in health.[3]

Calvin was a writer both of extraordinary skill, and of prodigious range. The work of Francis Higman had shown how Calvin's contribution to French style helped to re-shape the language.[4] His contribution to theological and polemical debate was also strikingly original in its contrast to the prolixity of many of his contemporaries.[5] But these polemical works were only a small part of a published output that

---

[1] The first version of this paper was given at a conference in St Andrews to mark the 50th anniversary of the publication of Robert Kingdon's seminal work, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*. My thanks to colleagues in the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute, and especially to Robert Kingdon, whose account of how he came to write the work was one of the highlights of the occasion.

[2] William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester, 1994).

[3] For Calvin's chronic health problems see especially Charles L. Cooke, 'Calvin's illnesses and their relation to Christian vocation', in Timothy George (ed.), *John Calvin and the Church. A prism of Reform* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1990), pp. 59–70.

[4] Francis Higman, *The Style of Calvin* (Oxford, 1967).

[5] For Calvin's polemical works see Francis M. Higman, *Three French treatises* (London, 1970); Mirjam van Veen, *Joannis Calvini. Scripta didactica et polemica, volumen I* (Geneva, 2005).

ranged across systematic theology, and three different types of exegesis: sermons, lectures, and his great series of Biblical commentaries.[6]

For modern scholars it is Calvin's theological clarity and total command of scripture that has most attracted attention in this astonishing scholarly output. For the members of the Genevan printing industry who brought Calvin's works to the reading public of far greater concern was the sheer quantity and popularity of his writings. These two considerations turned what had, until this point, been a publishing backwater, into one of the most influential, or notorious, centres of print culture in Europe. When, in 1551, the French authorities attempted to stem the worrying growth of evangelical activity within the kingdom, it was Geneva that they identified as the source of the poison, and books as the principal instrument of its dissemination. The Edict of Châteaubriand, intended to put an end to evangelical activity in France, concentrated much of its fire on Geneva.[7] French citizens were forbidden any contact with the town, on the severest of penalties. The possession of books published in the city would be taken as prima facie evidence of heretical beliefs.[8]

Fifty years ago, when he published his *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, Robert Kingdon identified the importance of books from Geneva as one of the principal aspects of the Genevan campaign of evangelization.[9] In this, if perhaps not much else, Robert Kingdon and King Henry II of France were in agreement—both regarded books as the perfect instruments of evangelization. But if the Edict of 1551 was intended to stifle the movement of books into the kingdom, it failed completely. The evidence presented by Robert Kingdon shows a steady increase in production, rising to a peak between 1560 and 1562, the years leading up to the French Wars of Religion.[10] This increase in activity was accompanied by a steady improvement in the

---

[6] Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé* (Geneva, 1997); in English (trans. Karin Maag) as *John Calvin and the Printed Book* (Kirksville, MS, 2005).

[7] Haag, *La France Protestante, Pièces justificatives*, pp. 17–29. English excerpts in Alastair Duke, et al., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1610. A collection of documents* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 60–64. See also Francis Higman, 'Genevan Printing and French Censorship, 1520–1551', in J.-D. Candaux, and B. Lescaze (eds.), *Cinq siècles d'imprimerie genevoise* (2 vols., Geneva, 1980), vol. I., pp. 31–53.

[8] William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation. Heresy trials by sixteenth-century parlements* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

[9] Robert Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva, 1956), chapter 9: 'The Flood Tide: Books from Geneva'.

[10] Kingdon, *Geneva*, pp. 98–9.

sophistication of the industry, carefully supervised by the town council. Crucial, as Kingdon also observes, was the provision of sufficient paper to serve the hungry presses.[11] The Council devoted considerable attention to regulating the quality of the paper produced by local mills, with the result that Geneva won a deserved reputation for high quality workmanship. In this book Robert Kingdon also manifests a laudable concern to explore the business organisation of the printing trade, especially how the publishers were financed and capitalized. This is an area often ignored in studies of the book trade: thanks to a number of significant studies in the Genevan archives Kingdon was able to show how important this business organisation was to a full understanding of the production process.[12]

Of all the many fine features of Kingdon's book it is perhaps this chapter on printing that has most sparked the imagination. The work it has stimulated from other scholars has been among its most significant legacies. The eloquent exposition here of the power of print found its echo in Elizabeth Eisenstein's equally influential study of *The Printing Revolution*, a book that defined our understanding of the relationship between print and religious change for a generation.[13] Almost simultaneously with Kingdon's book there appeared an outstanding collection of essays, to which Kingdon also contributed, on aspects of religious propaganda in France: a collection that put Geneva squarely at the centre of the story of French evangelical print.[14] This collection contained, in particular, two essays that significantly refined and enhanced Kingdon's work. The first, a detailed analysis of the printing consortium behind the Geneva Psalter of 1562, was the work of Eugénie Droz, the author of numerous essays on Genevan print that would in due course be published as a four volume collection.[15] This volume also contains

---

[11] Kingdon, *Geneva*, pp. 94–5.
[12] Ibid. And see also his article 'The Business Activities of printer Henri and François Estienne', in G. Berthoud (ed.), *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva, 1957), pp. 258–75. A significant study of the business organization of the Genevan industry (though devoted to a slightly later period) is Hans Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit des Glaubenskämpfe. Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte, 1565–1580* (Geneva, 1969).
[13] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979); *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).
[14] G. Berthoud (ed.), *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva, 1957).
[15] Eugénie Droz, 'Antoine Vincent. La propagande protestante par le psautier', in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, pp. 276–93; *Chemins de l'hérésie. Textes et documents* (4 vols., Geneva, 1970–76).

an edition of the inventory of Laurent de Normandie, the bookseller who financed the travelling colporteurs who carried the work of the Genevan presses to their readers in France, often at great risk to themselves.[16] The lessons learned from this vital and marvellous document have been more recently reinforced by the work of one of Robert Kingdon's own students, Jeannine Olson, who has demonstrated that de Normandie's operation received significant backing from the *Bourse française*, an organisation whose ostensible purpose was to support the poor of the French refugee community in Geneva.[17]

So there can be little doubt that in its essentials the case made in Kingdon's book, that Geneva was the heart of a purposeful campaign of evangelization by print, has been sustained by recent work. I want here to turn my attention to two distinct questions that follow from this central thesis. The first is the impact of this campaign of evangelization by print; the second, whether as we deepen our knowledge of sixteenth-century printing, we need to refine our sense of Geneva's overall role in the wider evangelical printing effort. On the first question, of impact, a warning note was sounded by my own graduate student David Watson, who when working on the French martyrology of Jean Crespin had occasion to contrast the bellicose language of the Edict of Châteaubriand with the actual statements of belief of those arrested and condemned for heresy.[18] His conclusion was there was remarkably little difference between the beliefs of those condemned for heresy in the period around 1551 and those arrested twenty years previously. If the activity of the Genevan presses had been enough to attract the attention of France's Catholic authorities, it had not yet transformed the mental world of French evangelism.

This finding, I think, only serves to emphasise the crucial importance of the fifteen years after 1550, the period when, in Kingdon's interpretation, the Genevan printing industry grew into its full potency in the years leading up to the outbreak of the conflict in France. Now, fifty years after Kingdon's work was first published, his stress on the

---

[16] H.-L. Schlaepfer, 'Laurent de Normandie', in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, pp. 176–230.

[17] Jeannine Olson, *Calvin and Social Welfare* (Selinsgrove, 1989).

[18] David Watson, 'The martyrology of Jean Crespin and the early French evangelical movement' (St Andrews University Ph.D. dissertation, 1998). See also David Watson, 'Jean Crespin and the Writing of History in the French Reformation', in Bruce Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2 vols., Aldershot, 1995), vol. II, pp. 39–58.

vital importance of Genevan books in incubating the destructive rise of the French Huguenot movement can be tested with the help of far more reliable bibliographical data than was available when Kingdon wrote his book. This bibliographical information consists of two main bodies of data. The first is the monumental works of Jean-François Gilmont, bibliographer of Calvin, of the printer Jean Crespin, and more recently of the whole Genevan print industry.[19] The second is the work of the St Andrews French book project, which, in gathering together data on all books published in French, allows one to provide a most holistic context for the specifically Genevan publications.[20] But it is through the work of Jean-François Gilmont that one can approach a full understanding of what Calvin meant to the Genevan printing industry, as author, entrepreneur, and commercial asset.

Gilmont's majestic three volume bibliography of Calvin's works, published between 1991 and the year 2000, enables us now to describe in detail the history of Calvin's evolving relationship with the Genevan press.[21] In due course Calvin's popularity would galvanise one of the greatest print operations in sixteenth-century Europe; but initially Calvin's relationship with Geneva's printers was distinctly cautious. For an author deeply committed to high quality scholarly books this was entirely comprehensible. Before Calvin's arrival the Genevan printing industry was almost negligible. Like many cities around Europe Geneva had experienced an early flowering of publishing activity in the incunabula age, when the excitement of the new invention stimulated the establishment of printing presses in many places where publishing would not prove commercially viable.[22] In Geneva, in fact, the print output of the fifteenth century was quite considerable, but in the early years of the sixteenth century this dwindled away to almost nothing. Geneva printing would revive only with the onset of the Reformation, and then, initially, only on a very modest scale.

---

[19] Jean-François Gilmont and R. Peter, *Bibliotheca Calviniana. Les oeuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVIe siècle* (3 vols., Geneva, 1991–2000). Gilmont, *Bibliographie des Editions de Jean Crespin, 1550–1572* (2 vols., Verviers, 1981).

[20] Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

[21] Gilmont and R. Peter, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*. And see also, Gilmont, *Calvin and the Printed Book*.

[22] Antal Lökkös, *Les incunables de la Bibliothèque de Genève. Catalogue descriptif* (Geneva, 1982).

As a scholar with serious pretensions to an international reputation, Calvin quite naturally sought to place his work with established, experienced and prestigious presses: first in Basle, and later in Strasbourg. In Strasbourg, in particular, Calvin would forge an enduring friendship, especially during the period of his exile from Geneva, with the printer Wendelin Rihel.[23]

It is therefore a little surprising that Calvin placed his first work with a Genevan press as early as 1540, before even his return to the city the following year.[24] Thereafter Calvin placed a steady succession of newly written works with Michel de Bois and Jean Girard, the latter the dominant figure in Geneva's renascent printing industry during the 1540s.[25] These works were by and large the vernacular polemical pamphlets to which Calvin devoted much of his energies as an author during the 1540s. More scholarly works, such as the Latin Biblical commentaries, and revisions of the *Institutes*, he continued to send out of the city for publication, usually to Strasbourg.[26]

This division of his patronage continued for much of the 1540s. It may indeed have been the very best arrangement for all concerned. It is much to be doubted whether Geneva's printers at this time possessed either the technical skill, or the capital resources, to handle the more complex projects; on the contrary, the short, popular vernacular works for which Calvin during these years discovered an unexpected talent were the ideal product from an operation such as Girard's, at that stage of its development. Technically such works presented little challenge for a half decent printer, while they offered the prospect of a decent local sale and a quick return on capital. And so it proved.

As Calvin's own reputation grew, and the Genevan printing industry expanded, Calvin gradually entrusted more of his work to local men. He may have been encouraged to make this change by a serious alarm when the manuscript of his Commentary on Second Corinthians went

---

[23] Gilmont, *Calvin and the Printed Book*, pp. 4, 181–85, 224–229.

[24] French and Latin editions of Calvin's debate with Sadoleto were published in Geneva by Michel du Bois in 1540. Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 40/6, 40/7. Calvin is also thought to have published one work at Geneva during his first stay: the *Instruction et confession de foy* (1537), attributed on bibliographical grounds to Wigand Koeln. Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 37/2.

[25] Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 41/1, 42/2–4, 43/2–4, 43/6–8, 44/2–4, 44/6–13, 45/1–4, 8–10, 46/3, 5.

[26] Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 40/3, 42/5, 43/5, 45/5, 46/2.

astray en route to Rihel in Strasbourg.[27] It eventually turned up but only after an anxious three month wait that almost caused the reformer, always fragile emotionally, to put aside other writing projects altogether. But in any case the Genevan industry was now ready for more challenging commissions. In 1548 Calvin for the first time permitted the publication in Geneva of a Latin edition of one of the commentaries.[28] In 1551 a Genevan press was entrusted with a large folio edition of one of Calvin's Latin works.[29] Henceforth Calvin's writings would be delivered almost exclusively to Genevan printers.

This period, around 1550, is rightly seen as a real turning point in Genevan print history. At this time there arrived in the city a number of printers with experience of the Paris printing trade. They brought with them both advanced technical expertise and the financial resources that enabled Genevan printing to move to a new stage of development. Jean Girard was first challenged and then superseded by a new generation that included Robert Estienne, scion of the illustrious publishing dynasty, and Jean Crespin, publisher and author of the French martyrology.[30] Calvin cultivated a close relationship with both men. Together, along with Laurent de Normandie, these men reshaped the Genevan book world. The output of the Genevan presses rested on three fundamental pillars. The first was the continuing publication of Calvin's works, and those of his friends and colleagues. The reformer's own output was by any reckoning quite prodigious. In his latest reflective consideration of Calvin's relationship with the printed book, Jean-François Gilmont presents an interesting analysis of the reformer's annual output of new writings for the press. In no year after 1550 did this fall below one hundred thousand words; sometimes it greatly exceeded this figure.[31] This included the culmination of his extraordinary series of Biblical commentaries, as well as a number of new theological works engaging the controversial issues of the days. These new writings, together

---

[27] Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, pp. 3–4.
[28] *Commentarii in quatuor Pauli epistolas: ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenes* (Geneva, Girard, 1548). *Commentarii in secundam epistolam ad Corinthios* (Geneva, Girard, 1548). *Commentarii in utranque Pauli epistolam ad Timotheum* (Geneva, Girard, 1548). Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 48/7–9.
[29] *Commentarii in epistolas canonicas* (Geneva, Crespin, 1551). *Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam* (Geneva, Crespin, 1551). *In omnes Pauli epistolas atque etiam in epistolam ad Hebraeos commentaria* (Geneva, Crespin, 1551). Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 51/5, 6, 10.
[30] A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Estienne* (Paris, 1843). Gilmont, *Crespin*. Idem, *Jean Crespin: un éditeur réformé du XVIᵉ siècle* (Geneva, 1981).
[31] Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, pp. 293–7.

with new revised editions of the *Institutes*, would have been sufficient to ensure his publishers a healthy return, but Calvin's reputation was now such that his earlier books also merited frequent reprints. If Calvin was for part of this period still a controversial figure among Geneva's elite, his critics did not include those who shared the profits of the printing industry; a growing number, especially among Geneva's French immigrant community.

The second pillar of Genevan print during these years was the vernacular Bible. The full story of this publishing phenomenon has been exhaustively charted by Bettye Chambers, latterly a valued colleague in the St Andrews French Book project team.[32] The first edition of the Scriptures published in Geneva was a New Testament printed by Jean Girard in 1536. This was the precursor to an astonishing sequence of around 150 issues of the New Testament or complete Bible published between this date and 1563. A large number of these were complete folio Bibles, latterly published with the rich sequence of maps and illustrations designed especially to elucidate the text.[33]

To those who had remained loyal to the official Catholic faith in Paris this lucrative trade in editions of the Scriptures was even more maddening than the popularity of Calvin's works, since Paris printers had been forbidden to publish the Bible in French since 1526: an early, and entirely self-defeating victory for conservatives at the Paris Sorbonne.[34] This order, reluctantly obeyed by Paris publishers eager to take on such complex, but potentially lucrative publishing projects, did nothing to impede the appetite for vernacular Scripture in France: it simply ensured that the production, and profit, would be exported abroad.

The third main pillar of Genevan print was the publication of editions of the Psalter. The metrical psalms, used in vernacular worship and increasingly in other aspects of day to day Reformed spirituality were a distinctive feature of Calvinism ecclesiology.[35] It was a project that Calvin actively promoted, building on the foundations laid by the influential verse psalm translations of the court poet, Clément Marot. After Marot had completed translations of around one third of the

---

[32] Bettye T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-language editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983).

[33] Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bible, 1500–1600. An illustrated catalogue* (Geneva, 1991).

[34] Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva, 1979), pp. 26–27.

[35] Édith Weber, *La Musique Protestante de langue française* (Paris, 1979); Waldo Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562* (New York, 1966).

psalms the project was taken forward, at Calvin's insistence, by his friend and collaborator Theodore de Bèze. Geneva's printers were eager to offer their co-operation for a project which, as a staple of congregational worship, offered the prospect of steady returns, even though technically this was a complex book. All editions of the psalms published in Geneva included musical notation, which called for specially cut type and some care in ensuring correct alignment on the page.

De Bèze finished his work of translating the psalms in 1561, with providential good timing, for this was the year when the churches in France enjoyed their most rapid growth. Correctly anticipating substantial demand for the first complete edition, and mindful of the potential for a decent financial return for pious causes, the ministers of Geneva now organised what would be one of the most ambitious publishing ventures yet attempted in the sixteenth century. The publisher-bookseller Antoine Vincent was given the responsibility for organising a single edition, divided between a large number of printers, of something in the region of 30,000 copies.[36] All of Genevan's main printers were expected to contribute, according to the number of printing presses operating in their businesses; but Vincent also enrolled the assistance of a number of printers in Lyon, and some still farther afield. The rights in the edition were vested in the *Bourse française*, the body that managed funds collected for the immigrant poor in Geneva.

Several lessons can be drawn from the success of this extraordinary exercise. The first, as Robert Kingdon correctly observes, is to draw attention to the organisational powers of the Genevan industry, in what was surely their greatest single achievement. Even to secure enough paper for such an edition was a prodigious effort, laying aside the difficulties of distribution.[37] This would have been ameliorated had, as Vincent anticipated, a large portion of the edition been published within the borders of France: in Lyon, but also in Caen, Orléans, and even in Paris itself. Having journeyed to France to lead the Protestant delegation at the Colloquy of Poissy, Theodore de Bèze had taken advantage of the short lived mood of conciliation to request a royal privilege for

---

[36] Droz, 'Vincent', pp. 276–293. In addition to the 10,800 copies of this consortium edition, Geneva printers printed a further 16,600 copies on their own account between late 1561 and early 1562: a total of 27.400 copies printed in Geneva alone. Kingdon, *Geneva*, pp. 99–100.

[37] An example of a contract for purchase of the necessary paper in *Archives d'Etat de Genève*, ed. Ragueau, vol. 4, pp. 507–9 (16 Nov. 1561).

the Huguenot Psalter. Astonishingly this was granted—printers of the Psalter continued rather mischievously to print it in the preliminaries of further editions long after the fragile mood of toleration had collapsed. It was probably this signal of royal favour that induced a surprising number of Paris printers to agree to take part in the publication—many to their subsequent regret.[38] But while the Psalter was in these different respects an astonishing monument to the scale of the Genevan printing industry's ambitions, it also hinted at its limitations. For by 1561 the evangelical movement in France had grown so rapidly that it was simply impossible for Genevan presses to satisfy the demand for books. The involvement of so many printing houses in France in publishing the Genevan Psalter was an indication that in some respect the influence of Genevan print had already passed its zenith.

To illustrate this point, which represents one of the most striking finding of the St Andrews French book project, it may be helpful to present some data charting the development of French evangelical publishing during the sixteenth century. This is based on an analysis of some 3,900 bibliographically distinct items, which represents around 7.5% of all French vernacular books published during the century (Figure 5.1). In the first twenty five years after Luther's protest, the production of evangelical books in French is spread between a large number of different centres, both in France and abroad. The scattered nature of this production in part reflects continuing ambiguity regarding what constitutes an evangelical book. In the 1530s and early 1540s it was still possible to publish a range of texts that would have made Sorbonnists distinctly nervous, in Lyon, or even in Paris itself. Editions of the *Livre du vrai et parfait oraison*, a work that included a text by Luther, were published in Paris in 1528, 1529 and 1530; three editions were published in 1540, and two more in 1543. The text was also published elsewhere in France, for instance in Lyon and Poitiers.[39] The printed output of this pre-Genevan age of French evangelism had

---

[38] Vincent's contract with the printers of Paris lists 19 individuals, some quite well known figures in the industry. Those named in the contract were: Charles Perier, Oudin Petit, Michel Fezandat, Pierre du Pré, Jean le Royer, Charles Langelier, Jean Plunyon, Richard Breton, Felix Guybert, Robert Bréart, Philippe Danfrie, Mathurin Prévost, Rollin la Mothe, Philippes Parentin, Gilles Gilles, Jean le Preux, Pierre Haultin, Olivier de Harsy and Guillaume Clémence. The contract is reproduced in Droz, 'Vincent', pp. 282–3.

[39] Francis Higman, *Piety and the People. Religious Printing in French, 1511–1551* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1996), 197–112.

attracted a good deal of scholarly attention in recent years, notably in the work of Francis Higman, William Kemp and Jonathan Reid.[40] Jonathan Reid's eagerly awaited study will demonstrate the extent to which evangelicals associated with Marguerite of Navarre, bitterly denounced by Calvin and Farel for their timidity and hypocrisy, made good use of print to articulate their own vision of reform within the established church.[41] And this is a good point to pay tribute to the work of Francis Higman, whose diverse studies in the bibliography of early French evangelism have unearthed a significant number of previously unregarded texts.[42]

That said, our analysis reveals a dramatic change in the year 1544 (Figure 5.2). This is the year in which for the first time Geneva began to dominate the output of evangelical print, with 31 of 43 known editions. Calvin's polemical works provide the solid core of this publishing effort, but the print shop of Jean Girard also published works by Luther, Bucer and Melanchthon, as well as multiple editions of Calvin's highly regarded friend and collaborator, Pierre Viret.[43] Viret's productivity in the 1540s underpinned a steady output of small octavo works from Girard's press that threatened during the last part of the decade totally to dominate the literary output of French evangelism. But it is the following decade, the 1550s, that would see Geneva's primacy most fully established. In these years French evangelism experience a period of decisive growth, with the formation of new church congregations on the Genevan model, culminating in 1559 with the first National synod and the promulgation of the French Confession of Faith. These years also witnessed, as we have seen, the transformation of the Genevan printing industry. This happy synergy allowed a rapid increase in both

---

[40] Jean-François Gilmont and William Kemp (eds.), *Le livre évangélique en français avant Calvin* (Turnhout, 2004).

[41] *King's Sister—Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549) and Her Evangelical Network*, monograph forthcoming with Brill, Leiden. Pending publication of this work see Reid's article, 'France', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London, 2000), pp. 211–24. *Idem*, 'Evangelical Networks in France (1520–1555): Proto-churches?', in Philip Benedict, Silvana Seidel-Menchi, and Alain Tallon (eds.), *The French and Italian Reformations: Contacts, Contrasts, and Comparisons* (Rome, 2008).

[42] Francis Higman, *Lire et découvrir. La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva, 1998).

[43] Steven Russell Brandt, 'Jean Girard: Genevan Publisher (1536–1557)' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1992). D.-A. Troilo, 'L'oeuvre de Pierre Viret: le problème des sources', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du protestantisme français* (144, 1998), pp. 759–90.

the quantity and quality of Genevan publications. But this was still a period when the typical book published in Geneva, at least in French, was in the convenient small formats, octavo or smaller. These were the books of instruction, exegesis and exhortation for an evangelical community growing both in numbers and confidence, daring for the first time to proclaim their faith in public.

This public confidence would only increase in the hectic, chaotic years that followed, when the French authorities largely lost control of their querulous subjects. The French evangelical communities grew exponentially during these years as their members dared, for the first time, to hope for the conversion of France.[44] It is not surprising that the production of the Genevan presses would peak during these years; indeed the peak is even more dramatic than the figures Kingdon cites, based on the collections of the *Bibliothéque publique et universitaire* in Geneva.[45] This library has a wonderful collection of Genevan imprints, although it is certainly not complete. But placed in the context of the total output of French vernacular Protestant works in these years the influence of Geneva, in publishing terms at least, is seen, in fact, to be receding. This development, is best presented, at least initially, in raw statistical terms.

In 1559, the year of the first French National Synod, Genevan presses still accounted for 78% of the production of evangelical texts in the French language. By 1560 this had changed dramatically: in this year the Genevan contribution dropped for the first time below 50%. In 1561, the year of the most rapid growth of the French congregations, the Genevan contribution to evangelical print fell to a mere 25%. It fell further in 1562, the first year of the war, notwithstanding the astonishing effort to orchestrate publication of the Huguenot Psalter.

What was going on here, with Genevan printing apparently relegated to a subsidiary role at the very moment when two decades of patient evangelism seemed finally to be bearing fruit? Thanks to the data collected for the St Andrews French Book project, and associated biblio-

---

[44] Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981), is especially good on the atmosphere of these years. Andrew Pettegree, 'European Calvinism: History, providence and martyrdom', in R. W. Swanson (ed.), *The Church Retrospective. Interpretations and Depictions* (Studies in Church History, 33, 1998), pp. 227–252.

[45] This collection also forms the basis of the standard bibliography of Genevan printing, P. Chaix, A. Dufour and G. Moeckli, *Les Livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (Geneva, 1966). This work is now superceded by the on-line resource published by Jean-François Gilmont, GLN.

graphical studies, we are now in a position to answer this question in some detail. In short, as the French church became for the first time a mass movement, the supply lines of books from Geneva became too stretched to meet the sudden surge of demand. It became necessary to print books closer to the market; and crucially, for the first time it was safe to do so. Further, with the political climate changing almost from month to month, the movement seemed temporarily to have outgrown the cautious, patient leadership of the Genevan church. These were times that called for a new type of literature; works that the Genevan leadership were unwilling to supply, or even to permit Genevan publishing houses to print.[46]

The first significant centres of Protestant print in France emerged on opposite sides of the kingdom, at Lyon and in Normandy. The production of Protestant books in Lyon built on a long-standing interest in humanistic reform among the Lyon printing fraternity, though the works that would appear there when the conflict got underway were very distant in tone from the polite restraint of Humanist letters.[47] Protestant printing in Caen, in contrast, represented a significant new development. The province of Normandy had witnessed a very significant increase in evangelical activity since 1555, building on a broad-ranging interest in reform that reached back to the 1520s. As congregations were formed and demand for New Testaments, evangelical prayer books and other literature increased, the provision of such literature from Geneva in sufficient quantities became increasingly difficult, not least because the normal supply route ran through fiercely Catholic Paris.

The result was that in 1559 a local printer began to produce locally a number of works popular with the new Calvinist congregations. These beginnings of Protestant printing in Caen are still somewhat mysterious. The printer used a counterfeit of a Genevan printer's mark, an incidental acknowledgement of the reputation Genevan presses had established among French evangelicals. Jean-François Gilmont, who investigated these works as part of his study of Jean Crespin, has dubbed this printer, perhaps rather ungenerously, the 'Fausseur Normande', the forger of Normandy.[48] But within two years the local political climate had changed so radically that three printers were prepared to commit

---

[46] Gilmont, *Calvin and the printed book*, p. 262.
[47] See chapter four.
[48] Gilmont, *Crespin*, 59/9*, 61/6*, 62/4*, 62/4**, 62/4***. J.-F. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVIe siècle* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 101–5.

themselves to the cause. Between them Simon Mangeant, Pierre Le Chandelier and Pierre Philippe turned out almost fifty editions, an output that included a full range of the standard works required for worship, polemical works, along with reprints of the political manifestos of the new Huguenot leadership first issued by Eloi Gibier in Orléans.[49] The high point of this production was a folio Bible and a folio edition of Calvin's *Institutes*.[50] These were clearly workshops that were adequately capitalized and staffed by competent workmen.

From 1562 and the beginning of the war a new press established at Orléans turned out multiple editions of the political manifestos of the Prince of Condé, leader of the Huguenot armies. With time the printer, Eloi Gibier, also turned his hand to a range of more conventional religious titles.[51] But the most interesting development from our point of view is the transformation in these years of the output of Lyon's previously determinedly highbrow and learned printing output. I have published elsewhere my reflections on the spectacular emergence of Jean Saugrain, a previously little regarded member of the Lyon printing fraternity, who now discovered a popular specialism in the sharp, confrontational polemic that characterised these years.[52] Two points can be emphasised when considering this body of work, that extended to well over one hundred editions in Saugrain's period of activity in Lyon. Firstly, his exploitation of song in the service of the Huguenot congregations was a prominent and distinctive feature of his publications. Secondly, the tone of many of these works was such that Calvin and his colleagues would certainly not have sanctioned their publication in Geneva. But they were extraordinarily popular with the French Huguenot communities.

---

[49] See chapter three.

[50] Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Caen, Pierre Philippe, 1562). Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, 62/7. For the Bible, a pirated version of the English Geneva Bible, see Gilmont, *Crespin éditeur*, p. 103. *STC* 2095. A French Bible, published in 1563 with the title-page address 'St Lô' was also almost certainly printed in Caen. See chapter three.

[51] Jean-François Gilmont, 'La première diffusion des Mémoires de Condé par Éloi Gibier en 1562–1563', in P. Aquilon and H.-J. Martin (eds.), *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XXVIIIe Colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours* (Paris, 1988), pp. 58–70. A revised and updated version in Gilmont, *Le livre & ses secrets* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Genève, 2003), pp. 191–216. Gilmont, 'Eloi Gibier, éditeur de théologie réformée. Nouveau complement à la bibliographie de ses éditions', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 47 (1985), pp. 395–403.

[52] See chapter four.

Many of these pamphlets are extremely rare, and frequently no copy survives in any Paris library. They have only now come to light because the St Andrews French book project has been able to inventory systematically the rich pamphlet collections of provincial France, and many libraries abroad. I am reasonably confident that the record of Saugrain's activity is now fairly fully established. These pamphlets, though short and ephemeral, are often very beautifully designed and printed, and so distinctive in their appearance. The major job of work that remains to be done is to try to identify the place of printing of the large number of pamphlets published during these years with no acknowledgement of printer or place of publication. This represents a high proportion of the total output of these years: over one hundred works in the single year 1561, for instance, close to 40% of the output of Protestant print in this crucial year.

It is highly likely that a large number of these works published with no clear distinguishing features were in fact published in Paris. In 1562 a significant number of Paris printers were prepared to associate themselves with the Genevan Psalter consortium, but the previous year the atmosphere in the capital was still deeply hostile to the evangelical religion, and indeed those who did put their heads above the parapet, even in the changed circumstances of 1562, often lived to regret it.[53] For all that, there were enough in the capital's population drawn to the new religion to make publication of Protestant works an attractive prospect, particularly if the printers felt they could escape attention. In 1560 the printer who published the anti-Guisard *Tigre de France* was hunted down and executed.[54] But the number of books we have identified that hint at Parisian production suggest that there were some who were not deterred.[55]

The end of the first war in 1563 brought new trials for Protestants in France, and for some unlucky printers a settling of scores. Saugrain

---

[53] Of the 19 Parisian printers named in the contract to print the psalter, at least ten were subsequently pursued by the authorities, or forced to leave the capital. See Droz, 'Vincent', pp. 282–3. Cf. Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York, 1991), pp. 130–4.

[54] Donald Kelley, *François Hotman. A Revolutionary's Ordeal* (Princeton, 1973), p. 113. The story is told in the introduction to Charles Reade (ed.), *Le Tigre de 1560* (facsimile ed., Paris, 1875).

[55] For a rare example of the successful identification of a group of anonymous Protestant works as Paris printing see Eugénie Droz, 'Le curé Landry et les frères Langelier', *Chemins de l'Hérésie*, vol. 1, pp. 283–394.

in Lyon and the Protestant printers of Caen continued in business for
some years, but by 1565 the prospects for evangelical printing in France
were looking decidedly bleak. In the years to come Geneva would
come once more to the fore, now sharing the burden of sustaining
the unsettled spirits of France's Huguenot population with a new press
established in the relative safety of the far west, at La Rochelle.[56] These
events lie outside the compass of our brief here, and belong more to
the period covered in Robert Kingdon's second book, *The Consolidation
of the French Protestant Movement*.[57]

The research of the St Andrews French book project triumphantly
endorses Robert Kingdon's description of Genevan influence on the
growth of French Reformed Protestantism. But this new data also shows
that in the years before the outbreak of war, the Genevan church found
many able and willing helpers among the printing fraternity in France.
The research of the last decade has played an important role in bringing
this less immediately apparent publishing effort out of the shadows. It
played a material part in assisting the growth of the French Huguenot
movement during the period of its greatest success.

---

[56] Louis Desgraves, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle. 2: Les Haultin, 1571–1623* (Geneva,
1960); Eugénie Droz, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle. 1: Barthélémy Berton, 1563–1573* (Geneva,
1960); Droz, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle, 3. La veuve Berton et Jean Portau, 1573–1589*
(Geneva, 1960).

[57] Robert Kingdon, *Geneva and the consolidation of the French Protestant movement, 1564–
1572: a contribution to the history of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Calvinist resistance
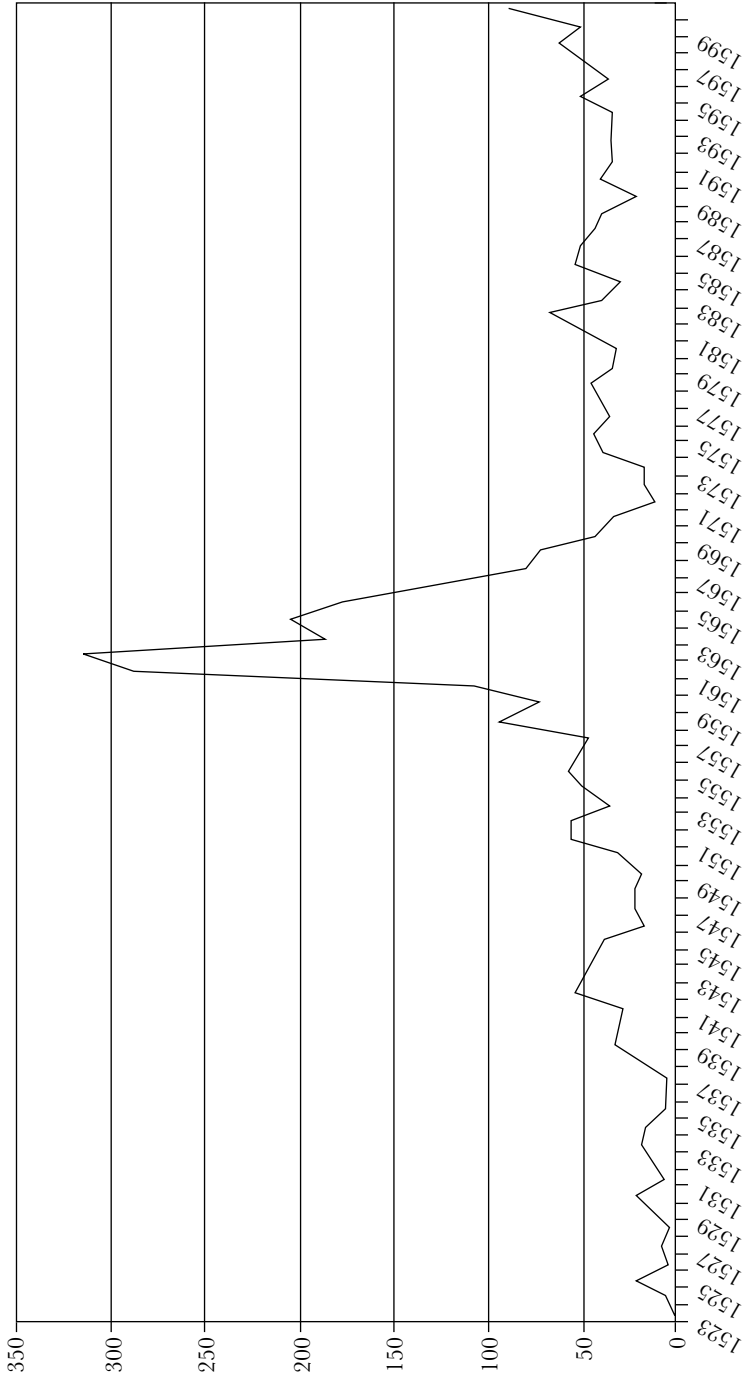theory* (Madison, 1967).

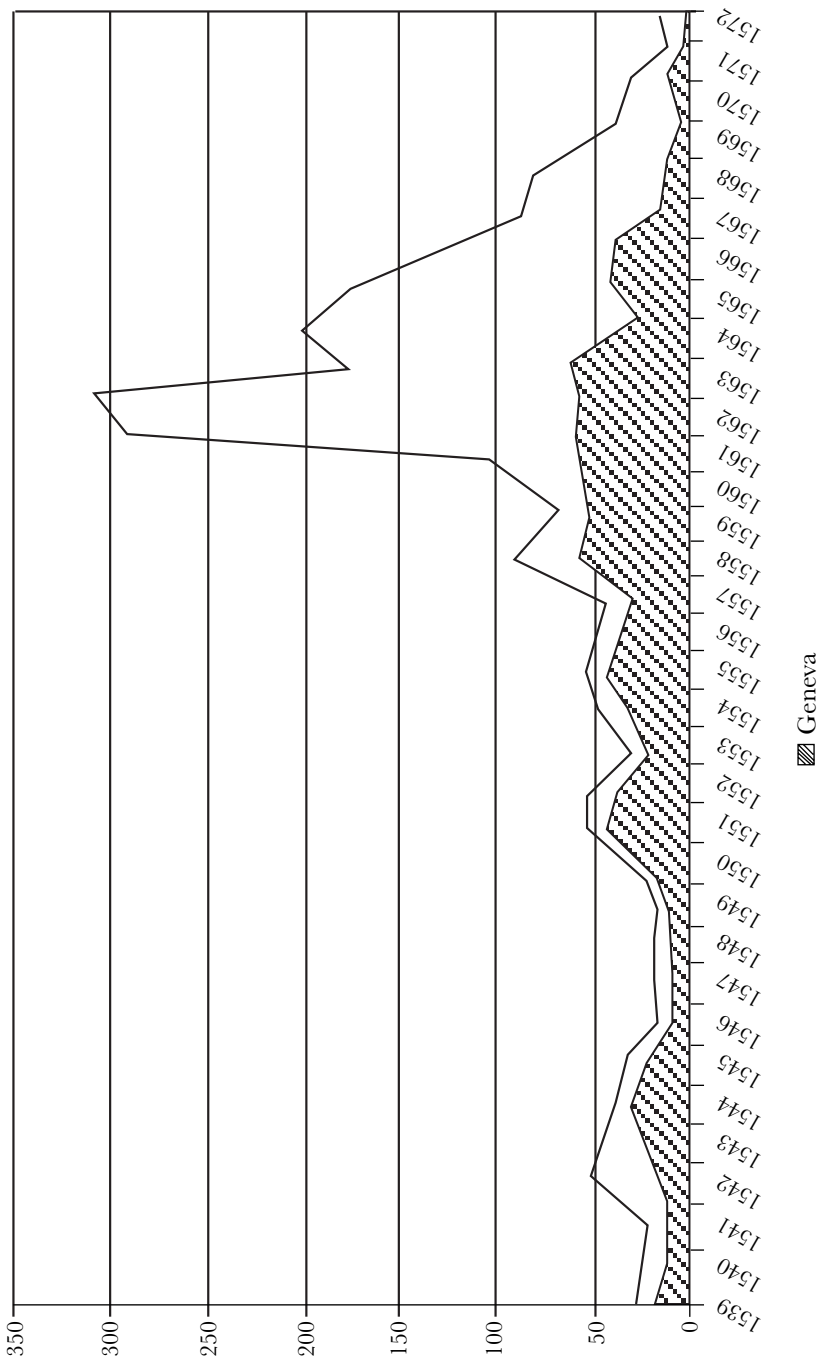Fig. 5.1   Evangelical and Protestant books published in French, 1523–1600

Fig. 5.2   Evangelical and Protestant books published in French, 1539–1572

PART II

DISSEMINATION

CHAPTER SIX

FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS.
THE INTERLOCKING OF TWO RELIGIOUS CULTURES
IN PRINT DURING THE ERA OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS

The convulsions that afflicted the western Catholic Church in the wake of the Protestant Reformation were especially intense in France and the Netherlands. Luther's movement, it is now clear, would find its most enduring home in the parts of central and eastern Europe where the cultural connections with Luther's German heartlands were particularly close. But in the euphoric opening decade when Luther's protest first became a movement, the reformer and his German colleagues had high hopes of the rich, populous and heavily urbanised lands to the west. In both, for rather different reasons, these initial hopes would be dashed. In France, evangelicals and reform-minded churchmen invested great hopes in a king, Francis I, who certainly valued the new learning, even if his instinctive loyalty to Catholicism was never seriously in doubt.[1] In the Netherlands, a promising popular movement was extinguished through the determined opposition of the Emperor, Charles V, whose authority was nowhere more firmly applied to combat heresy than in his hereditary Burgundian lands.[2] In neither case would the Lutheran Reformation put down the institutional roots that proved possible when the state power was enlisted in its support. The Reformation was thwarted, turned back and for a time submerged. But in both lands it would re-emerge with violence and dynamic energy in the second half of the century.

With the rise of Calvinism Protestant movements in France and the Netherlands took on a new vigour. The momentum of events increased very markedly, not least because, for the first time, events in the two

---

[1] Francis Higman, *La diffusion de la réforme en France, 1520–1565* (Geneva, 1992). Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva, 1979). R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge, 1982).

[2] Alastair Duke, 'Building Heaven in Hell's despite', in Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London, 199), pp. 71–100. D. Ch. G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen, 1969).

lands seemed to move in tandem. Calvinist churches, emerging from the shadows, became in both cases entwined with discontented and alienated elements of the local elites keen to challenge the efficacy of persecution as an instrument of policy. Demonstrations, riot, rebellion and ultimately war ensued.

The interconnected nature of these two parallel crises has often been remarked.[3] The insurgent churches and rebellious nobles in both lands took courage from developments across the border. Connections of family, affinity and mutual esteem reinforced the obvious mutual interest. As events moved towards a decisive confrontation the flow of men, materials and mutual support became more intense; once battle was joined it was obvious to the leaders of both parties in both countries that events across the border could decisively influence the outcome of the conflict closer to home.

It is hardly surprising that this intermingling of events found its echo in print. Both France and the Netherlands could boast a robust and highly sophisticated print culture. The publishing industries of Paris, Lyon and Antwerp played an established role in the international commerce of ideas, not least through a vibrant Latin trade. Both France and the Netherlands were also well underway towards establishing a broad-based reading public. The political convulsions that engulfed the two lands inevitably intensified the hunger for information and opinion. It is hardly surprising that the resources of the print industry should be applied to satisfy this need. What has never before been systematically investigated is the way in which this relationship—the mutual hunger for news, the mutual borrowings of the religious movements in the two lands—was reflected in the developing print culture.

The work presented here is an attempt to open up what proves to be an exceptionally rich field of study. It draws upon both recently completed and ongoing bibliographical projects.[4] In the process it

---

[3] Most systematically in N. M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559–1572* (London, 1973). Lolange Deyon and Alain Lottin, *Les casseurs de l'été 1566* (Westhoek, 1986).

[4] For the Netherlands it relies partly on Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava, 1541–1600. A repertorium of books printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600* (Nieuwkoop, 1998) and partly on library searches. Especially important is the Knuttel collection in The Hague, and the collection of the Rijksuniversiteit Ghent. W. P. C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-versameling berustende in de Konininklijke Bibliotheek* (9 vols., The Hague, 1882–1920); J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale bibliotheek van deRijksuniversiteit Gent* (2 vols., Ghent, 1979). For France it relies on the ongoing research of the St Andrews French vernacular book project, which

will gather together a body of literature, some familiar, some entirely unknown and indeed newly discovered, that has never before been considered as a unity. It offers some insights into the role of print in shaping popular attitudes during the wars of religion, not least on the far less heavily research Catholic side. In the process it may also offer some incidental evidence for a phenomenon that has been the subject of far less general investigation: the movement of texts across linguistic boundaries. Because this involves a large number of bilateral linguistic relationships this aspect of sixteenth century publishing culture has been the subject of little comment. But taken as a whole these sort of texts, translations direct from one vernacular language to another, often of far from elevated works, would come to play an increasing role, alongside the established power of Latin, in the circulation of ideas across Europe.

The connections between the political and intellectual elites of France and the Netherlands were an established fact long before the political events that will form the major focus of this study. In the early decades of the sixteenth century scholars and theologians throughout north-western Europe were engaged in a series of common scholarly enterprises, and the movement of people and texts was free and easy: a commerce for which Erasmus, a Netherlander much courted and revered in France, may stand as a representative figure. This lively intellectual exchange was reflected in a buoyant publishing industry: by the 1520s Paris and Antwerp has established their pre-eminence as the two leading centres of the international trade in Latin books in northern Europe. The increasingly important market in vernacular books also showed evidence of the close ties between France and the Netherlands, though here the rivalries between the two ruling houses introduced an edge of tension not evident in the more elevated scholarly trade. The thirst for news that became rapacious during the Wars of the Religion finds its first echo in the early propaganda publications of Maximilian, Mary of Hungary and Louis XII.[5] The quarrels of Charles V and Francis I produced further bursts of pamphlet publications aimed at both a domestic and foreign audience. But it was the

---

aims (by 2007) to publish a short title catalogue of all books published in the French language before 1601. The progress of the project can be followed through its website, www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_rsi/book/book.htm.

    [5] Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'Information en France de Louis XII à Henri II* (Geneva, 1961).

Protestant Reformation and its aftermath that first pointed up the full potential of these cross-border connections. When in 1526 the theology faculty of Paris University, the Sorbonne, succeeded in imposing a ban on the publication of vernacular scripture in France, it was naturally to Antwerp that French evangelicals looked to bring out editions of the Bible translation of Jacques Lefèvre D'Etaples.[6]

While Charles V never fully succeeded in curbing unorthodox publishing in Antwerp, the main focus of French exile Protestantism soon moved south, to Strasbourg, Lausanne, Neuchâtel and Geneva. By the 1540s Jean Calvin in Geneva had emerged as the most potent threat to Catholic hegemony in the French-speaking lands; and while his native France was his main concern, he was careful not to ignore the nascent evangelical movement in the French-speaking Netherlands. Two hundred copies of his treatise *Excuse aux Nicodemites* were despatched to Tournai and Valenciennes in 1544, and Genevan books continued to circulate in the Netherlands in large numbers in the years leading up to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt.[7] A close intellectual comradeship was demonstrated by the extent to which the Dutch Confession of Faith drew on the French confession for its model; after failing to find a press nearer to hand, the first printed version was published in Normandy.[8] Meanwhile, the Genevan New Testament, a book that provided a vital cornerstone for the Huguenot movement in France, established a dominant role in French language translations also in the Netherlands. Small wonder that Calvin's death was widely welcomed in Catholic circles, not least with a celebratory tract published by the Antwerp printer Tilens.[9]

None of this should come as any surprise. The Genevan book industry was phenomenally efficient, and it connected smoothly with the

---

[6] Bettye Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-language editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983), no. 51.

[7] Gérard Moreau, 'Un colporteur calviniste en 1563', *Bulletin de la societé de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 118, 1972, pp. 3–31.

[8] *Confession de foy, faicte d'un commun accord par les fideles qui conversent és Pays Bas.* [Rouen, Abel Clémence], 1561. W. Heijting, *De Catechisme en confessies in de Nederlandse Reformatie tot 1585* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop, 1989), B 11.2 A second edition of 1561 has recently also been identified as the product of another French press, that of Symphorien Barbier of Lyon. Heijting, *Catechisme en confessies*, B 11.1. For details of the early attempts to find a publisher (not least in London), see Gérard Moreau, *Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la révolution des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1962), pp. 156 ff.

[9] *Discours sur le tombeau de Maistre Iean Calvin iadis grand reformateur de la parole* (Antwerp, Tilens, 1565). Copy in Toulouse BM.

equally efficient trade nexus based on Antwerp and extending through the southern Netherlands.[10] It was small wonder that the local authorities found it impossible to stem the flow of heretical books. But what has been much less remarked is that the deluge of printed propaganda was mirrored by an equally busy interchange of books and news on the Catholic side. Just as the movement of Protestant evangelism knew no borders, so those who took up their pen in defence of the old faith also found support and inspiration in the work of their fellow theologians across the Flanders borders.

This Catholic literature has been the object of little systematic investigation; indeed its sheer extent is only now emerging with the systematic bibliographical work of the St Andrews French Vernacular Book project. This project, which aims to establish as far as possible a comprehensive bibliography of all books printed in the French language before 1601, has discovered many new editions of French Catholic polemical and political writings—many of them surviving in unique copies in the municipal libraries of provincial France, a resource to this point much under-utilised for scholarly research. There are literally hundreds of editions relevant to our present topic. To bring some order into this literature it will be considered here in four categories:

1. Dutch reprints of books by French theologians;
2. Low Countries French vernacular reprints of works by French Catholic theologians;
3. Netherlandish reprints of political tracts, news and so on, relating to France;
4. Editions published by French presses following events in the Netherlands.

It is well known of course that on the Protestant side both Calvin and Bullinger were much published in Dutch (though it is also remarked that Calvin's major works were only published in Dutch editions much later than might have been expected, and that Bullinger had a tenacious influence).[11] The fact that their works were freely available in French

---

[10] Gérard Moreau, 'Catalogue des livres brûlés à Tournai par ordre du duc d'Albe' (16 juin 1569), *Torae Tornacenses; Recueil d'études d'histoire* (Tournai, 1971), pp. 194–213.

[11] The first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* in Dutch was not published until 1560, and in fact only four editions of his works appeared in Dutch before 1566. See Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*. For comparisons with other European vernaculars, Francis

(and indeed Latin) may provide a partial explanation for the relative paucity of Dutch editions. What is much less often remarked is the healthy Dutch appetite for the works of French Catholic theologians.

French Catholicism produced no single writer of the status of Calvin. But through the pioneering work of Francis Higman, now reinforced by the information collected by the St Andrews French project group, it is evident that French Catholicism was assiduously and effectively defended.[12] From the publication of Francis Higman's *Piety and the People*, a list of French religious publishing from the years 1511 to 1551, we know that the second most successful religious author for the first generation of the reform was the until now scarcely remembered Dominican, Pierre Doré.[13] Despite a neglect from historians and literary scholars which contrasts most forcefully with the attention given to his more celebrated contemporaries on the evangelical side, Doré from 1537 turned out a steady sequence of works of Catholic edification and forceful refutations of heresy: a total of 56 editions of some 24 separate works.[14] And his example was taken up from the middle years of the century by a whole group of energetic and able vernacular authors: Nicole Grenier, Gentian Hervet, René Benoist, Simon Vigor, Antoine du Val. Like Pierre Doré most of these men were doctors of the Sorbonne who consciously laid aside the language of scholarly debate, Latin, to engage the Calvinist threat in the vernacular. Their works played a crucial, and as yet scarcely acknowledged role in turning back the Calvinist tide.[15]

In this category of literature a special mention should be made of one especially successful work, Nicole Grenier's *Bouclier de la Foi*. Grenier's work was cast in the form of a dialogue between a true Catholic and a friend seduced by the plausible doctrines of the Lutherans. It was no surprise that during the course of lengthy exchanges, which ranged

---

Higman, 'Calvin's work in translation', in Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 82–99.

[12] Francis Higman, 'Premières réponses catholiques aux écrits de la Réforme, 1525–1540', in Higman, *Lire et découvrir. La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva, 1998), pp. 497–514. Higman, *Piety and the People. Religious Printing in French, 1511–1551* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Aldershot, 1996).

[13] Higman, *Piety and the People* (see above, n. 12), p. 5.

[14] Ibid., D 40–94.

[15] See now particularly Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print. Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Aldershot, 2002).

through all the essentials of the Catholic faith, the waverer returns to the fold. First published in 1547, the work was an immediate success: there were a further seven editions in 1548–1550, and it continued to be republished until the end of the century.[16] It also struck a raw nerve with Protestants, inspiring a spirited, and in its turn also highly successful response, Barthélemy Causse's *Vrai bouclier de la foi*.[17] But in terms of the literary battle alone, there is no doubt that Grenier had the better of it. Quite apart from the clear numerical supremacy in terms of reprints, there were also a number of Dutch translations, the first, published in Louvain in 1551, the work of one Nicolas Zergers. Further Dutch editions followed in 1556, 1568 and 1581 and 1568 also witnessed a Dutch translation of Grenier's *Epée de la foi*, a sequel to his *Bouclier*.[18] Protestants seem to have more success when they turned from the shield to the sword. Whereas Causse's *Vrai bouclier de la foi* seems to have had no resonance outside France, a contemporary work, Charles Leopard's *Glaive du Geant Goliath* enjoyed a long success in Dutch.[19]

The early translations of Grenier and Doré were precursors of a larger wave of literary borrowings stimulated by the Calvinist onslaught of the early 1560s. It may well be that the Dutch Catholic church was for various structural and intellectual reasons less able to find articulate and able defenders. If so, these borrowings from the developed

---

[16] Higman, *Piety and the People* (see above, n. 12), G 28–35.

[17] The date of first publication is unclear; the first edition is lost, though the Sorbonne list of forbidden books of 1556 refers to an edition of 1554. The first surviving edition, marked 'second edition', dates from 1557 [Geneva], Crespin. (Oxford, Merton College). Further editions were published in 1558, 1560, 1562 (2), 1563, 1577 and 1584. The Caen ed. (1562) is described on the title page as a fourth ed. There is also an English translation of 1569: STC 4870.

[18] Nicolas Grenier, *Den bueckelere des gheloofs* [transl. Niclaus Zegerus], (Louvain, Bergaigne, [1551?]). *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, ed. Elly Cockx-Indestege et Geneviève Glorieux and Bart Op de Beeck (Nieuwkoop, 1968–1994) (hereafter cited as *BT*), 5875. St.-Truiden, Archief: T Zeg 5a; another edition: (Antwerp, Keerberghen, 1566), *BT* 1333. Brussels BR: II 26.052 A; another edition: (Antwerp, P. van Keerberghen, 1568), *BT* 1334. Brussels BR: VI 26.643 A; another edition: (Antwerp, [Rodius], 1581), *BT* 1335, Brussels BR: LP 2982 A. Nicole Grenier *Het sweet des gheloofs, om te beschermen die christen kerche teghen die vyanden des waerheyts* [transl. Nicolaus Zegerus] (Antwerp, J van Ghelen, 1568), *BT* 5876. St.-Truiden, Archief: T Pip.

[19] *Gladius Goliath. Das Zweerdt Goliaths.* Transl. from the French by H. van Broeckhuysen (Emerich, Petersz., c. 1572), Utrecht UB: 210 H 24 (2). *Gladius Goliath. Het sweerdt van Goliath den Philisteen.* Transl. by P. J. Austro-Sylnus (Hoorn, Gerbrandtz., 1629), Amsterdam UB: 1079 H 16.

French polemical debate filled an important gap.[20] In this period the most translated French author was Gentian Hervet, whose *Deux epistres aux ministres de la nouvelle eglise* and *Epistre ou advertissement* were both published in Dutch translation in 1561, the year of their first appearance in French.[21] It was perhaps inevitable that the tumultuous events of 1566–67 should stimulate a new wave of translations. Catholic Netherlanders, struggling to make sense of events that had left many of their churches shattered and stripped of precious and irreplaceable objects, were understandably eager to draw on the wisdom of their French co-religionists, who had experienced similar iconoclastic fury a few years before. Thus the period 1566–1568 saw publication in Dutch of further editions of Hervet's works, of Antoine du Val's *Miroir des Calvinistes*, of Claude des Sainctes's influential polemic against the iconoclasm, the *Discours sur le saccagement*, and of works by the most prolific of all French Catholic authors of the French religious wars, René Benoist.[22]

The circumstances of publication of these translated works would bear further investigation. None were short works, and the effort of preparing a Dutch text for the press would have been considerable. It would be interesting to investigate systematically whether the transla-

---

[20] The sole exception at this date on the Netherlandish side seems to have been the Bishop of Arras, François Richardot, who made a spirited contribution to the anti-Calvinist polemic. Richardot, *Discours tenu entre Francoyse Richardot & ung prisonnier, au lieu de Douay, sur aulcuns poinctz pricipaux de la religion* (Louvain, Bogard, 1567), *BT* 4164. *Quatre sermons du sacrement de l'autel, faicctz et prononcez à Arras. Item ung sermon des Images faict à Armentiere* (Louvain, Bogard, 1567), *BT* 4168.

[21] Gentian Hervet, *Eenen sentbrief oft Christelyke vermaen* (Antwerp 1561), Leiden UL: 1499 F 33; another edition: (Antwerp, H. de Laet, 1561), *BT* 8478. Ghent UB: 154 C 48/1. Gentian Hervet *Twee missiven ofte sendt brieven anede verdoelde vanden christen geloove* (Antwerp, J. Molijns, [1561?]). *BT* 8479. Ghent UB: AC 1118.

[22] Gentian Hervet, *Missyve oft seyndbrief aende verdoolde vanden christen gheloove* (Antwerp, Tronesius, 1566), *BT* 5939. Maredsous, Abbeye bénédictine: 266–225,3; edition of 1567, *BT* 1424. Brussels BR: VB 10.204 II A 21. Hervet, *Twee missiven ofte sendt brieven aende verdoelde vanden Christen geloove* (Antwerp, Mollyns, [1567]). Leiden UL: 1499 F 37. Antoine Duval, *Den spieghel dr calvinisten, ende die wapenen der christenen, om die lutheranenn ende nieuwe evangelisten van Geneven te wederstaen* (Antwerp, Tronaesius, 1566). *BT* 1001. Brussels BR: III 6019 A; another edition: (Antwerp, E. P. Tronesius, 1567). *BT* 5687. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus A 2464. Also printed in French: (Antwerp, Tronesius, 1566). *BT* 5686. René Benoist, *Een catholic tractaet van de beelden en van het rechte gebruyck dier selfder* (Antwerp, P. van Keerberghen, 1567), *BT* 5179; *Index Aureliensis* 116.839, Antwerpen Stadsarchief pamf. 61; London BM: 3925.aa.14; Claude des Saintes, *Discours oft corte enarratie, op die beroouvinghe der catholycker gercken gheschet door die oude ketteren, ende nieuwe calvinisten van onsen tyd* (Louvain, Velpius, 1567), *BT* 9032. Ghent UB: Res. 523. Brussels, RB: LP 9337.

tions are faithful and literal, or incorporated changes reflecting the new circumstances of publication; this is an issue that has attracted little attention from Reformation historians, though it is surely crucial to the questions of reception and theological influence.[23] In this particular case, I would suspect no great subtlety. The challenges faced by French and Dutch Catholics were in this period depressingly similar in their nature and urgency. The fact of this widespread borrowing does suggest the relative lack of success of the Netherlandish Catholic church in finding its own eloquent defenders during these years. Alongside these Dutch editions there were also a significant group of Low Countries French vernacular reprints of the milestone works of French anti-Calvinist polemic. These included Simon Fontaine's *Histoire Catholique de nostre temps* (Antwerp, 1558), Claude des Saintes's refutation of the Confession of Faith presented by the Calvinist representatives at Poissy (Antwerp, 1562), and further works by Benoist and Hervet.[24]

These theological works form a highly significant group and their influence on opinions in the Netherlands has yet to be measured. But in sheer numerical terms they are far outweighed by the more ephemeral literature of my last two categories, as presses in France and the Netherlands kept their local audiences abreast of events in the lands across the border. This was not, it should be emphasised, a class of literature invented by the religious wars. Small pamphlets bringing news of battles, wars, treaties or royal coronations, weddings and funerals had been popular almost from the beginning of the century. The long running Habsburg-Valois conflict ensured that Franco-Netherlandish relations played a prominent role in these classes of literature. The passing of the two old adversaries Francis I and Charles V was recorded

---

[23] For instance the very considerable literature on the translations of Calvin and Bullinger into English has never addressed the issue of whether these translations in fact incorporated any, or even quite significant changes.

[24] Simon Fontaine, *Histoire catholique de nostre temps…contre l'histoire de Jean Sleidan* (Antwerp, Steelsius, 1558), *BT* 1166. Brussels BR: VB 7809 A. Other copies: Geneva BPU; Paris BN; Gneht UL; New York PL. Claude des Saintes, *Refutation de la confession de la foy que les ministres de Geneve presenterent au roy en l'assemblee de Poissy* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1562), Ghent UB: Res. 1219. Idem, *Reformation de la confession de la foy que les ministres de Geneve presenterent au roy en l'assemblee de Poissy* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1562), *BT* 4126. Brussels BR: VB 9744 1 A 7. René Benoist, *Instruction pour tous Estats en laquellle est sommairement déclaré chacun en son estat se doit gouverner* (Antwerp, Jean Waesberge, c. 1564), Pasquier 157. Gentian Hervet, *Epistre aux desvoyes de la foy* (Antwerp, Tronaesius, 1566), *BT* 5938. Antwerp, MPM: R 22–14, 2A. René Benoist, *Une brief et succincte refutation de la coene de Jean Calvin* (Anwerp, Tronaesius, 1566), *BT* 7868. Louvain, KU R 5 A 13.057 & RA 2181 (2 copies), Ghent UB THL 2681.

with proper solemnity: in Francis's case with an Antwerp edition of the account of his funeral.[25] When Charles V died in 1558 French printers in Paris and Lyon duly returned the compliment.[26]

Notwithstanding this lively tradition of topical literature, the opening of the religious wars led to a vast increase of publications of this sort, particularly in the Netherlands. The growth of Calvinism and the outbreak of hostilities in France produced an immediate resonance in the Netherlandish press. Antwerp printing presses followed events in France with close attention. The trial and execution of the Protestant magistrate Anne du Bourg in 1559–60 was an event which sent shock waves around northern Europe, since du Bourg, a magistrate of the Parlement of Paris, was the most highly placed recent victim yet of the heresy proceedings in France.[27] So it is perhaps no surprise that both an account of the legal process, and a more sympathetic edition of his confession of faith, should have been published in Antwerp.[28] The following year the doomed attempt to drag France back from the brink of open conflict by promoting peace between the warring confessions, the Colloquy of Poissy, also attracted great interest in the Netherlands. From the standpoint of the Catholic faction the emotional and intellectual highpoint of the Colloquy was the oration of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which was published in numerous editions in Paris and at least six French provincial locations. It was also published in Antwerp, both in French and in a Dutch translation.[29]

With the outbreak of war the literary exchange accelerated, culminating in a great outpouring of literary activity at the end of the conflict. Both sides hurled at the other protestations, justifications and

[25] *Le trespas, obseques & enterrement de François,…roy de France* (Antwerp, M. Ancxt, 1547), *BT* 4554. Brussels BR: II 28.597 A.
[26] Charles V, *Les grandes et solennelles pompes funebres faictes en la ville de Bruzelles…155 8…pour Charles V* (Paris, widow Buffet, 1559), Ghent UB: Gent 7002. Charles V, *Les obseques et grandes pompes funebres de Charles V faitz a Bruxelles. Traduit d'Italien en Francois* (Lyon, Saugrain, 1559), London, BL: c.33.a.
[27] On the execution of Du Bourg see Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith. The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1996).
[28] Anne du Bourg, *L'exemplaire et forme du procez commis…contre maistre Anne Du Bourg* (Antwerp, Steltius, 1560). See H. Meylan & Alain Dufour etc. (eds.), *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva, 1960–), 13: 169. *La confession de foi d'Anne du Bourg et son process* (Antwerp, 1561). E. & E. Haag, *La France Protestante* (10 vols., Paris, 1877–88), 5: 595 (art. 'Du Bourg').
[29] Charles de Guise, *Cardinal of Lorraine, Oraison…a Poissy* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1561–62), *BT* 8445. [Dutch trans], *Die oratie van den cardinael van Lorreyne. Ghedaen in de vergaderinghe van Poyssi* ([Antwerp], Plantin, 1562), *BT* 8444. Ghent UB: AC 1768.

accusations of bad faith. The manifestos of the Prince of Condé, the supreme commander of the Protestant forces, issued to justify his rebellion from his headquarters in Orléans, found interested readers both at home and abroad. The quarto tracts of the Orléans printer Eloi Gibier were reprinted first in convenient octavos in other parts of France, then in translation in both England and Germany.[30] The early hopes and ultimate defeat of Huguenot military force was followed with great interest in neighbouring lands, but it was an event that followed the first pitched battle of the wars, at Dreux, that caused the greatest shockwaves. In February 1563, at the height of his military power, the Catholic champion the Duke of Guise was cut down by a Protestant assassin. In France this catastrophe brought forth an awesome out-pouring of literary grief and anger. For the French vernacular book project we have now documented upwards of fifty editions praising the fallen Duke, relating his last words, and proclaiming vengeance on his enemies.[31] One of the most successful and elegant of these works, the *Deploration de la France sur la mort de monsieur de Guise*, was reprinted in Louvain by Bogard; a Dutch edition of the Duke's reputed last words was also published in Antwerp.[32]

The Duke's assassination presaged the end of the first war, and a decade of uncertain peace during which the crown struggled, ultimately unsuccessfully, to restrain the hostile factions. Netherlandish readers followed with interest this unequal struggle, and the eventual drift to war in 1567–68. It is perhaps not surprising, given the increasingly uncertain state of relations between the faiths in the Low Countries, that Jean Begat's polemic against religious co-existence, written on behalf of the Estates of Burgundy, should have attracted such great interest in the

---

[30] The Gibier tracts are listed in Louis Desgraves, *Elie Gibier imprimeur à Orléans (1536–1588)* (Geneva, 1966); the different editions of these popular works are more precisely identified in Jean-François Gilmont, 'La première diffusion des Mémoires de Condé par Éloi Gibier en 1562–1563', in P. Aquilon and H.-J. Martin (eds.), *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XXVIIIᵉ Colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours* (Paris, 1988), pp. 58–70. A revised and updated version of this article also appears in a recent volume of Gilmont's collected papers: *Le livre & ses secrets* (Louvain-la-Neuve & Geneva, 2003), pp. 191–216. For the French octavo editions printed in Caen and elsewhere see chapter three in this volume. A run of the English translations (printed by Hall for Sutton, 1562) is at *STC* 16849–52. The German translations are recorded in the Catalogue of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (now lost due to war damage).

[31] Including by renowned authors such as Pierre Ronsard and Lancelot de Carles.

[32] François de Guise, *Dit zijn die leste woorden des…hertoch van Guise* (Antwerp, J. Mollijns, [1563]), *BT* 8447. Ghent UB: ML.A 1563/7. *Deploration de la France sur la mort de monsieur de Guise* (Louvain, Bogard, 1563), BT 860. Brussels BR: IV 37.140 A.

Netherlands. The contemporary appeal of a work that warned against the dangers of tolerating two faiths on one land (and the discredit this would bring on a Catholic monarch) would have been obvious given the current deterioration of the religious situation in the Netherlands. The Antwerp printer Sylvius published no fewer than four editions of this work in the years 1563–4.[33] There was also an eager audience for Louis de Perussis's anti-Protestant history of the first troubles, published in Dutch translation in Antwerp in 1564.[34] The crown's attempts to promote reconciliation were represented with an Antwerp edition of Michel de l'Hôpital's *Discours sur la pacification*.[35]

When fighting resumed in 1567–8 Antwerp presses published a selection of the crown's manifestos and edicts, summoning their subjects to arms against the Huguenot threat.[36] The manifestos of the Huguenot leader, the Prince de Condé, also found a Netherlandish audience.[37] And of course it was hardly to be expected that the bitter denouement of this phase of the conflict, the St Barthomew's Day massacre of 1572, should have gone unremarked in the Netherlandish press. Across Europe the destruction of the Huguenot leadership and the extensive massacres that followed produced contrasting reactions: horror in Protestant countries, joyous celebration in Catholic lands.[38] To justify its conduct the French crown published an official explanation of the reasons for the murder of Coligny, who it was alleged had been plotting to kill the royal family.[39] This work was despatched under cover

---

[33] *Remonstrances au Roy des Deputez des trois Estats de son Duche de Bourgoigne sur l'edict de la Pacification, BT* 4134, 4135, 9004; also Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale: Rés. 321753. There is a further edition of 1563, signed Antwerp, pour Federic Helman: *BT* 6626. Editions were published within France at Paris in 1563 (copy Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale) and in 1564 at Angoulême. Paris, Mazarine: 37028/4.

[34] Louis de Perussis, *Die historie van der orloghen gheschiedt in Vranckrijck in Provencen* (Antwerp, A Tilens, 1564), *BT* 8904. Ghent UB: ML 108; another ed, *Discours ende berhael vande orloghen van het graefschap van Venayscin ende van Provencen* (Antwerp, [J. Verwithagen], 1564), BT 3971. Brussels BR: II 19.072 A.

[35] Michel de L'Hopital, *Discours sur la pacification des troubles de l'an 1567* (Antwerp, C. Thetieu, 1568), *BT* 1. Brussels RL: II 30.105 A.

[36] *Copie uuten mandemente vanden coninck van Vranckryck aen zyn ondersaten, totter wapenen tot synen dienste* (Antwerp, van Heurne, 1568). *BT* 6115. Antwerp Stadsarchief: Pamf. 638.

[37] *Recueil de toutes les choses memorables advenues tant de par le Roy, que de par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé* (Antwerp, 1568), Versailles BM: Pernod 8° Id 8.

[38] Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths about the St Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572–1576* (Cambridge Mass., 1988).

[39] *Discours sur les causes de l'execution faicte és personnes de ceux qui auoyent coniuré contre le Roy* (Paris, L'Huillier, 1572).

of a royal order to have it reprinted on French provincial presses; in one local archive researchers for the St Andrews French book project found a copy of this tract still contained within its original manuscript wrapper.[40] But foreign Catholic audiences were also prepared to give the King's case a sympathetic hearing. The king's justificatory treatise was thought to merit an edition in the Netherlands, at the Antwerp press of Christophle Plantin, a printer eager to work his passage back into official favour after flirting with heretical publications during the first stages of the revolt.[41]

By this time of course the Netherlands had troubles of their own, which in their turn were hardly unremarked in France. French Catholics, impatient with what they saw as the crown's weak policy of concession to Huguenots, could take comfort from the more robust and straightforward approach of the Duke of Alva. Alfonso de Ulloa's narrative of Alva's triumphant progress to the Netherlands was reprinted in a Paris edition in 1570.[42] The international sensation caused by the execution of Egmont and Horne was reflected in the publication in France of a highly unusual woodcut broadsheet depicting the execution in five plates: a product of the Lyon printer Benoist Rigaud, by now the undisputed king of sensation literature in the Rhône printing emporium.[43] Rigaud also published an edition of the General Pardon with which Philip II tried belatedly (and unsuccessfully) to draw a line under the troubles and bring the revolt to an end.[44] In the Catholic euphoria after St Bartholomew, the Duke of Alva's military victory over William of Orange was also celebrated in the French presses. This account was published by Rigaud in Lyon, by Nyverd in Paris, but also in the tiny provincial press of Jérôme Olivier at Le Mans.[45] This

[40] Caen, Archives Départementales de Calvados.

[41] *Discours sur les causes de l'execution . . . de ceux qui avoyent conjuré contre le roy & son estat* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1572), *BT* 917. Brussels BR: VB 9744 II A 42. Voet 1868.

[42] Alfonso de Ulloa, *Commentaire premier . . . contentant le voyage du Duc d'Albe en Flandre* (Paris, Jean Dalier, 1570), Ghent UB: Meul 203. Amsterdam UL: 967 D 29. Paris BN: M. 20677. Rothschild 2377.

[43] *L'execution et supplice fait par sentence judiciaire, à l'encontre des nobles et illustres chevaliers de la Toison d'or, les contes d'Aihuemont et de Horne* (Lyon, Rigaud, 1570). H.-L. and J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, reliers et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIᵉ siècle* (12 vols., Lyon, 1895–1921), vol. 3. Knuttel, *Pamfletten* (see above, n. 4), no. 185.

[44] *Grace et pardon general donne par la Maiesté du Roy Catholique: à cause des troubles et seditions suruenus en Flandres et pays circonuisins* (Lyon, Benoist Rigaud, 1570), Knuttel, *Pamfletten* (see above, n. 4), no. 182. Lyon Bibliothèque Municipale: Rés. 317682/4.

[45] *La victoire obtenue par le duc d'Albe sur le prince d'Orange* (Paris, Guillaume de Nyverd,

grubby little pamphlet represents a development of some significance. To this point Olivier's press had done little more than relay royal ordinances to the urban communities of the Loire valley. That he was now eager to extend the rather narrow range of his activities indicates the growth of a genuine popular constituency for news as the French Wars of religion degenerated into a series of complex and protracted local conflicts. This phenomenon of provincial cheap print would become entrenched in the last two decades of the century with the growth of other significant centres of publishing at Tours, Troyes, Bordeaux and Toulouse, and to a lesser extent in Brittany.

The news emanating from the Low Countries would not always be so encouraging for Catholic readers. Through the 1570s and 1580s French presses recorded the highs and lows of the Netherlandish conflict. The Pacification of Ghent of November 1576 provoked great interest in France, being published in full in no fewer than five French locations: Paris, Lyon, Rouen, Orléans and La Rochelle.[46] Here, interest in this unusual experiment in religious conciliation spread across confessional lines. French readers exhibited a similar interest, though with rather different emotions, in the sack of Antwerp, and the trials and tribulations of Don John of Austria.[47] The spirit in which these events were interpreted depended very much on the current local context. At the time of the Pacification of Ghent French elites were themselves giving

[c. 1573]), Amsterdam UL: 2008 E 15. Rothschild 2378. Idem (Lyon, Benoit Rigaud, 1573), Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnais* (see above, n. 43), vol. 3. Knuttel, *Pamfletten* (see above, n. 4), no. 221a. Idem (Le Mans, Jerome Olivier, 1572), Rouen BM: Leber 3995/3.

   [46] *Traicte de la Paix, faicte conclue et arrestee entre les estatz de ces pays bas…en Bruxelles, & le Prince d'Orange, Estatz de Holland & Zealande…8 November 1576* (Paris, Jean de Lestre, after Brussels, Michel de Hamont, 1577), Ghent UB: Acc. 5712/13. Idem (Lyon, Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte, after Paris, Jean de Lastre, 1577); Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnais*, vol. 2. Lyon BM: V 316036. Idem (Rouen, M. Le Mesgissier, 1577), London BL: 8026.de.8. The La Rochelle edition was printed with the false address of Brussels. Paris, BSHPF: Rés. 14449.

   [47] *Recueils d'Aretophile, par quels moyens les gens de guerre Espaignols ammenez es Pays bas par le Duc d'Alve, s'estans mutinez en iceux divers fois, entrement en Anvers…1574…et comme desuis apres la mort dudit [Requesens], la mesme ville fut forcee, ou ils saccagerent plusieurs iours* (Lyon, Nicolas Guerin, 1578); Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnais*, vol. 10. Paris BN, London BL and others. Pedro Cornejo, transl. Gabriel Chappuys, *Briefve Histoire des guerres civiles advenues en Flandre* (Lyon, Jean Beraud, 1579): Amsterdam UL: 2303 F 33. Also reprinted in Paris: edition jointly attrib to Beraud (Lyon) and Richard (Paris). London BL: 1055.b.& (1). Jean Stratius, *Histoire de la guerre civile du pays de Flandre* (Lyon, Stratius, 1583); Amsterdam UL: 2451 F 24. Leiden UL: 452 G 10.

earnest attention to issues of peacemaking and reconciliation. Within a few years these efforts had essentially broken down.

The conflicts in both France and the Netherlands were jolted back into life by a wave of sensational deaths and assassinations. The death of the Prince of Orange in 1584 produced a predictably unsympathetic reaction in the French Catholic press, though the level of interest reflected a clear understanding of its potential importance in undermining the Dutch cause.[48] Accounts of the assassination were published in Paris, Lyons and Troyes, and Parisian readers were also able to follow the steady progress of the campaigns of the Duke of Parma, leading to the decisive triumph of the fall of Antwerp.[49] The death of the Duke of Anjou in the same year produced at least the prospect of a similarly decisive change in the political landscape in France. As horrified Catholics contemplated the possible succession of the heretic Henry of Navarre, the rise of the Catholic League posed a new and potentially fatal challenge to royal authority. The critical edicts with which Henry III attempted to stem the tide were republished for the benefit of a curious Netherlandish public in Antwerp, Douai and Leiden, though one might imagine they were read with very differing emotions by purchasers in the Northern and Southern Netherlands.[50]

For a moment thereafter the pamphlet exchange seemed to slacken; but the pamphleteers were not so much silenced as drawing breath before the huge outpouring of literary activity set off by the final titanic struggle between Henry III and his Guise nemesis in 1588–1589. In the French project files in St Andrews these years tower above all other in terms of the output of the French presses, and as we examine copies of the small ephemeral pamphlets which make up the bulk of these publications the number of separate editions continues to multiply. Often when we examine what we assume to be a second or third copy of a tract known to our database it turns out to be a quite separate

[48] *La mort du Prince d'Orange* (Lyon, Rigaud, 1584), Ghent UB: Acc. 4736. *La mort du Prince d'Orange* (Paris, Iobert, 1584). Ghent UB: Meul. 592. (Troyes, Villerual), Paris BN: Résacc M 21088.

[49] *Articles et conditions du traicté faict et conclu entre l'altesse du prince de Parme et la ville d'Anvers* (Paris, Jean Richer), Paris Mazarine: 32825 A; (Paris, iouxte Douai, Gobart), Paris Mazarine: 37216.

[50] *Edict du roy sur la reunion de des subjects à l'eglise Catholique* (Antwerp Plantin), Leiden UL; (Douai, Jean Bogart), Brussels BR: VB 9744 IV 16. (Leiden, Basson), Basel UB: Ef II 32:3. *Declaration du Roy sur son edict du mois de juillet dernier, touchant la reunion de ses subjects* (Brussels, Velpius and Antwerp, G. de Parijs), Brussels BR: LP 2192 A.

edition. In this respect our project will add quite considerably to the pioneering work already undertaken by Denis Pallier on Paris printing during the League.[51]

This great outpouring of printed polemic is all the more remarkable when one considers that by this date French religious writing is almost exclusively Catholic; the Protestants are by now reduced to the role of silent bystanders of the great internecine quarrel between royalist and Leaguer writers.

These tumultuous events found their inevitable echo in the Netherlands. Netherlandish Catholic presses reprinted a steady stream of Leaguer and Guisard tracts, from news of the agreements reached between Guise and the king in 1588, through the first shock news of the assassinations of the Duke and Cardinal de Guise, through the beginnings of the Guise insurrection.[52] The fate of Henry III attracted a predictable lack of sympathy, while the attempts of the Duke de Mayenne to rally Catholic opposition to the new King Henry IV were much more sympathetically treated.[53]

By this time however the Catholic presses of Brussels, Louvain and Antwerp were not alone in their access to public opinion. In the independent Protestant north new presses were now established, and they followed the events that saw the destruction of Henry III and the gradual triumph of Henry of Navarre from a rather different perspective. Often now interesting news from France produced two distinct northern echos: one from the Brussels press of Velpius, and one from the Delft press of Albert Henry, who seems to have made a profitable

---

[51] Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la ligue (1585–1594)* (Geneva, 1976).

[52] *Articles accordez au nom du roy entre la royne sa mere…le Cardinal de Bourbon…& le duc de Guise* (Brussels, Velpius, [1588]), *BT* 1412. Brussels BR: VB 9744 IV A 36. *Les cruautez sanguinaires exercees envers Mons. Le Cardinal de Guise* (Douai, 1589). Amsterdam UL: Pfl. H. 29/1. *Portrait et description du massacre commis au cabinet et par l'authorite du roy…en personne de Guise*, ([Brussels, Velpius, 1589]), *BT* 8959bis. Brussels BR: VB 9744 VI A 2b. *Avis de ceux qui ont este a Bloys, au temps du massacre advenu en personnes de Duc & Cardinal de Guise*, ([Brussels, Velpius], 1589), *BT* 7828. Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus A 3374. Variant edition., *BT* 7828 bis. Brussels BR: VB 9744 VI A 2. *Cruauté plus que barbare infidelement perpetree par Henry de Valois, en la personne de Monsieur le Cardinal de Guise* ([Brussels, Velpius, 1589]). *BT* 8108bis. BRB VB 9744 VI A 2a.

[53] *La nouvelle defaicte obtenue sur les trouppes de Henry de Valois dans les fauxbourgs de Tours, par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne* (Paris, Nivelle & Thierry [= Brussels, Velpius], 1589), *BT* 8839bis. Brussels RB: VB 9744 V A 8. *Copie dune lettre de Monsigneur de Mayne* ([Brussels, Velpius], 1589), *BT* 8726bis. Brussels RB: VB 9744 V A 3.

specialism of news literature of this type. But Henry by no means enjoyed a monopoly on this type of literature: the Amsterdam printer Wilhelm Janszoon, Harmanssz Schinkel of Delft and Jan Claesz. van Dorp all played their part in relaying to a northern audience news from France.[54] By this time of course the United Provinces and the French king were allies in the common conflict against Spain; a final twist in a conflict that had gone through many such convolutions in the two generations since the beginning of the conflict.

The efforts of printers in the northern Netherlands were reinforced by a number of other foreign print cultures: by this point the conflict for supremacy in northern Europe had become truly international. Every stage of Henry of Navarre's struggle to assert his authority in his kingdom was followed by a new generation of English readers. Accounts of the siege of Rouen and Paris, manifestos of the king and sympathetic accounts of his religious dilemma were published in London in English translation, for by this point 'newes from Fraunce' was of vital importance to the English struggle against Spain.[55] The play of events in the ten years after the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1589 also produced an unprecedented wave of German language pamphleteering on French events,[56] while the siege of Paris, the first abortive climax of Henry's struggle with the League, also produced a flurry of pamphlets in Italian.[57] By this point both the conflict, and the appetite for news, were truly international.

This study began by attempting to demonstrate the interconnectedness of events in France and the Netherlands, and has ended by making a rather broader point. By the end of the sixteenth century the news

---

[54] *Instructie byden Coninck van Franckrijck* (Delft, Harmansz. Schinckel, 1589); Knuttel, *Pamfletten* (see above, n. 4), no. 863. *Een Missiue ofte Brieff des Conincx van Nauarre* (Barent Adriaensz., 1589); Knuttel, *Pamfletten*, no. 865. *Articulen die geaccordeert sijn tusschen den Coning ende den Coning van Nauarre* (Amsterdam, Harmen Muller, 1589); Knuttel, *Pamfletten*, no. 867.

[55] Lisa Parmelee, *Good newes from Fraunce: French anti-league propaganda in late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY, 1996).

[56] For one example among many: *Frantzösische Zeittung. Warhaffte kurtze beschreibung, welcher massen Henricus der dritte diss Namens Regierender König in Franckreich zu Bloiss, vier Tagreyss von Pariss gelegen, beyde Herren von Guisa hinrichten lassen* (Nuremberg, Loenhard Heussler, 1589). *Index Aureliensis* 119.899.

[57] *Beliatio dell'assedio di Parigi*, Rome, Grassi, [1590]; *Relatione dell'assedio di Parigi* (Bologna, Rossi, 1591), Paris, Bibliothèque de la Ville: 550325–6.

community in northern Europe was reaching a certain maturity. Events in France and the Netherlands were of interest not just across their mutual border, but in England, Scotland and Germany too: and publishers could find profit in feeding this public interest. The existence of this market—clearly on the evidence of surviving pamphlets alone a very lively one—is not without significance for cultural historians. It used to be argued that this sort of active public was hardly possible at so early a date; that the existence of a 'public sphere' required the sort of public institutional space that emerged only with the eighteenth century coffee shop, or at the least, a robust newspaper culture.[58] The evidence presented here suggests that even for the sixteenth century this is too simple. We have demonstrated here the existence of a lively news community, and one that existed largely outside the control of the ruling elites. Indeed, elites achieved considerably more success in molding public opinion when they chose to feed this news community, than when they tried to stifle it; perhaps this is always the case.[59]

One can even go so far as to suggest that where this news community did not exist that the climate of politics would have been radically different. It is striking, for instance, that we have thus far found little evidence of the existence of these small news books in Spanish.[60] The Netherlandish books that ended up in Spain seem to have been mostly those dispatched to inform the King of political developments and the tone of opposition writings; there is little sign of a commercial trade in Spanish vernacular news books or reprints of popular works emanating from France and the Netherlands.[61] So it seems that among the many woes that afflicted Philip of Spain in the management of his policies for northern Europe, one does not need to add the existence of a well-founded Spanish news community. In this respect the climate of politics

---

[58] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (London, 1992).

[59] Intelligent discussion of these issues within the context of an active public debate can now also be found in Alexander Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion 1542–1600* (Basingstoke, 2004).

[60] A rare exception is: *Discurso y breve relacion de las cosas acontecidas en el cerco de la famosa villa de Paris, y so defensa por el duque de Nemours contra Henrrique de Borbon* (1590). But interestingly, this pamphlet was printed, like the French original on which it was based, in Paris, rather than on a Spanish press; Paris, Biliothèque de la Ville: 550320.

[61] The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid contains a considerable number of opposition tracts from the time of the revolt of the Netherlands, but all Netherlandish editions in either Dutch or French.

in Madrid much have been tangibly different—and much more the property of a closed elite—than that of London, Paris, or Brussels.

For northern Europe it is clearly the case that the news community was not limited to the leaders of society—the few nobles at court who had access to diplomatic despatches, or relatives across the border—but extended to a wide reading public in the French and Netherlandish cities in the capital and beyond. In the Royal Library, Brussels, bound into a series of volumes dealing with affairs in France are two small unassuming pamphlets, both in Dutch, that make this point very neatly. One is an account, published contemporaneously in Antwerp, of the Duke of Guise's siege of Rouen in 1562. The same Antwerp printer, Molijns, also published a Dutch translation of the Parlement of Paris's edict against the rebels.[62] These are cheap, ephemeral books, published in haste and at minimal cost, and for a general audience. They are worlds away from the Humanist world of literary exchange and *Alba Amicorum*; but they were no less important to creating a climate of opinion in the wider world of public affairs. By their eager purchases and avid following of the battles, treaties, murders and assassinations that punctuated the two wars, the urban populations of these two lands demonstrated over and over again that they were all too aware of the relevance to their own lives and experience of the events playing out in the lands to the north, or south.

The potency of the pamphlet as an instrument of subversion has long been recognized by historians of the Reformation. What we can add, from the evidence presented here, is a sense that this political constituency extended even to literature with no obviously polemical intent, published purely for profit, and to feed the increasingly voracious appetite for news. For an informed public was an engaged public; and events in France and the Netherlands had proved how potent this engagement could be.

---

[62] *Beleg van Rowanen door Francois Hertoch van Guise, 1562* (Antwerp, Mollijns, [1562]). *Extraict vande vonnis van de hove des Parlements den 27.7. teghens de Opraerighe* (Antwerp, Mollijus [1562]). Brussels KB, Miscellanea Francicarum: Brussels KB V 9744, Vol. 1.

FRENCH BOOKS AT THE FRANKFURT FAIR

Almost from the first days of the invention of moveable type, the creation of an international book market was essential to the economics of the industry. Of course, even in the manuscript age, owners of books were used to sending abroad for precious items to borrow, copy or purchase. But the invention of moveable type necessarily carried this European market to a new level. Providers of books now had to think in multiples of hundreds, rather than single items. With the exception of the simplest school books it was impossible to dispose of the major part of a print run locally. Rather—and this was especially true of those Latin books that dominated the output of most major printing houses—to turn a profit books would have to be dispersed across a market that was essentially pan-European.

This simple basic principle would result in a drastic restructuring of the European world of print a bare thirty years after Gutenberg's invention was recognised as an irreversible technological breakthrough. The first, exuberant age of experimentation witnessed a huge proliferation of new centres of printing, as news of the new technology spread around the European intellectual community. This first wave of expansion was fuelled by the interest and underwritten by the investment of rich local patrons, princes, bishops and city dignitaries, all determined to see that the new art was established in their jurisdictions. But these smaller presses were never commercially viable, and by the 1490s many of these more ephemeral had fallen away.[1] Now the industry was consolidated around a far smaller number of large centres of production, dominated by merchant publishers with the capital to sustain a major venture.

---

[1] For the phenomenon of press failure in the 15th century see Martha Tedeschi, 'Publish and Perish: the career of Lienhart Holle in Ulm', in Sandra Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word. The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 41–67. Susan Noakes, 'The development of the book market in Late Quatrocento Italy: printers' failures and the role of the middleman', *Journal of Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, (1981), pp. 23–55.

The production of a large book required the investment of considerable capital before any return could be expected. Aside from the fixed costs of setting up the press, paper had to purchased, and wages paid over the weeks and months before a large folio volume was complete. The completed books then had to be stored until the edition, sometimes 1200 copies or more, could be disposed of. This latter process, by which books were brought to their potential purchasers, often widely scattered around Europe, was the most vital part of the whole operation, even though it is now in many respects the least studied. When contemplating the publication of a book it was vital not to underestimate potential demand, since it was no simple matter to print off a second run of a folio volume of many leaves, not least because the type would have to be completely reset. But to print too many copies was also potentially ruinous. It is well known that in the sixteenth century the price of paper represented the main part of the cost of a book; but it is equally the case that few businesses could afford the capital tied up by accumulating huge stocks of unsold books, piled up and steadily deteriorating in expensive warehouse space.[2]

It is therefore hardly surprising that a sophisticated mechanism for the exchange and distribution of books in a pan-European market developed within a few years of the invention of printing. At the heart of this international book market was the Frankfurt book fair. Frankfurt was established as the home of a major book fair as early as 1475, and it would retain unchallenged pre-eminence as the centre of the international book trade for more than two centuries.[3] Frankfurt's effortless domination of the international book market rested on three main pillars. Firstly, as the seat of a major mediaeval fair, Frankfurt was used to the demands and rhythms of seasonal commerce. The city was blessed by an excellent situation, astride the Main, the main tributary of the Rhine. Hence the city neatly bisected the two main arties of trade

---

[2] Printer/publishers could accumulate a stock of astonishing size. Graham A. Runnalls, 'La vie, la mort et les livres d'imprimeur-libraire parisien Jean Janot d'après son inventaire après décès (17 février 1522 [n.s.])', *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 78 (2000), pp. 797–850.

[3] On the Frankfurt fair see especially Alexander Dietz, Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte (Frankfurt, 1921), vol. III pp. 1–178. Id., *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse, 1462–1792* (Frankfurt, 1921). Bruno Recke, *Die Frankfurter Büchermesse* (Frankfurt, 1951). A valuable account in English is the introduction to James Westphal Thompson (ed.), *The Frankfort Book Fair. The Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Estienne* (Chicago, 1911). Bruno Recke, *Die Frankfurter Büchermesse* (Frankfurt, 1951).

linking the major commercial markets of Italy and the Netherlands, to north and south, and France and the Empire, to east and west. These lands were the major engines of the mediaeval economy, and they would become, not surprisingly, the major centres of the Latin book trade, along with the Swiss Confederation—also conveniently situated for trade with Frankfurt. The Frankfurt fair, confirmed by Imperial charter of 1240, already attracted large numbers of merchants to its twice yearly gatherings, the Lenten fair and the autumn fair, which took place at Michaelmas. Many towns promoted such fairs, not least as a logical response to the notorious danger of travel in the era. Merchants could travel together, and between them pay for the necessary protection for their valuable merchandise. But few trade centres could rival Frankfurt for the opulence and international esteem of its fairs. In 1374 the merchants of Nuremberg travelled to Frankfurt in a party 500 strong, with 250 laden wagons and 300 hundred horses.[4] Visitors from other lands, especially France, Italy and the Low Countries, were a familiar sight.

Even in the manuscript age merchants would certainly have brought books, along with other merchandise, to Frankfurt's fairs. Frankfurt merchants were closely involved in the earliest ventures in book production; here its proximity to Mainz, the scene of Gutenberg's triumphant experiments, was an undoubted factor.[5] Yet curiously, Frankfurt did not develop as an especially important centre of book production in the incunabula age; perhaps the close experience of Gutenberg's financial travails proved a sufficiently cautionary experience.[6] Rather it was Frankfurt's experience of the mechanics of international trade—especially the credit and barter transactions that became the mainstay of the international book trade—that allowed it quickly to attach a large part of the trade in Latin books to its established fairs. Frankfurt was also exceptionally well placed to act as a nodal point for the trade in vernacular books within the German speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire. In this respect at least Frankfurt did face serious competition, from Strasburg, on the Rhine, and Leipzig in Saxony. But

---

[4] Thompson, *Frankfort Book Fair*, p. 52.

[5] On the economic relationship between Frankfurt and Mainz see Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 10. Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg, The Man and his Invention* (Aldershot, 1996).

[6] The first printer settled in Frankfurt was Beatus Meurer, active for the short period 1511–12; there was no permanent press in the city before the arrival of Egenolph in 1530.

Frankfurt would always have the advantage, not least because of the large number of foreign merchants gathered to view the Latin books on offer. The trade in German books developed as a subsidiary, though very important, aspect of this larger international trade. Statistics gathered by Friedrich Kapp for his classic study of the German book trade indicate that for the last four decades of the 16th century Latin titles made up on average 65% of the books traded in Frankfurt, and German books around 30%. Of the Latin books by far the largest part were published outside Germany; the largest proportion of the German books came from Frankfurt itself, or other south German cities.[7] In this respect Frankfurt thrived by offering a simultaneous location for two largely distinct, though interlocking markets: an international Latin trade, and a trans-German market in vernacular books.

The quantities of books traded in Frankfurt could be very large. The leading figures in the European book world became accustomed to organising the rhythms of production around the impending market.[8] This was not only the case with publishers with wares to sell: authors also became accustomed to shaping their writing plans around the rhythms of the fair.[9] Publishers would hope to dispose of a substantial part of their print run at the first fair after publication, either by direct retail sale, or, more usually, by placing consignments with other publishers or booksellers. Many of these trades took place by exchange, with publishers accepting packets of books from other printing centres in return for their own recent publications. In 1534 the Zurich printer Christopher Froschauer took with him two thousand copies of one work, in octavo and folio, and sold one thousand of them.[10] This would recoup the large part of the initial investment, and even turn a profit; to sell less would mean returning home with a large and potentially expensive unsold stock. Worst of all was to miscalculate the time needed for an edition, and miss the fair altogether. Many print workers found

---

[7] Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das 17e Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 791–2.

[8] Although Jean Calvin finished his commentary on Romans by October 1539 publication was held back until March 1540 to coincide with the next available fair. For this and several other examples see Jean François Gilmont [trans. Karin Maag], *John Calvin and the printed book* (Kirksville, MO, 2005), pp. 46, 54, 220–222.

[9] Contemplating a polemical reply to a work by Albert Pighius in 1542, Calvin decided he had time only to reply to the first six books, if his tract was to be ready for the fair. The end of the book contained the announcement, 'I will leave this topic [predestination] to the next fair'. Gilmont, *Calvin and the printed book*, p. 221.

[10] Thompson, *Frankfort Book Fair*, p. 77.

themselves working exceptionally long hours as the fair drew near to get the necessary books ready.[11]

The best established publishers could make more elaborate arrangements. Christophle Plantin of Antwerp kept a shop and a warehouse in Frankfurt, in which books remaining unsold at the end of the fair could be stored. This had the obvious advantage that purchasers could not wait until the last days of the sale in the hope that he would offload stock at reduced prices. After the Lenten fair of 1579 Plantin had 11,617 copies of some 240 titles in this storehouse. In Plantin's case this probably represented a steady accumulation of unsold stock, since he still brought vast quantities of new books to each fair: in 1579 his new stock amounted to 5,212 copies of 67 titles, with the most recently published obviously most strongly represented.[12]

In order to ensure the best possible sales, it was obviously advantageous to give potential visitors to the fair advance notice of what might be available. This was often done by correspondence. Surviving letters between publishers, authors and scholars make frequent mention of books they hoped to find available, or sell, at the next Frankfurt fair. But from an early date publishers also began to issue catalogues of their stock.[13] These were usually single printed sheets giving a simple list of titles, though it was also not unknown for such a catalogue to be printed in the back of another book, or as a separate publication.[14] It would be almost one hundred years, however, before an enterprising German publisher, Georg Willer of Augsburg, conceived the idea of a consolidated catalogue of all the new titles to be offered at the fair. Willer's first catalogue was published in 1564, and seems to have been an instant success. It would be published regularly at each successive fair to the end of the century.[15]

Willer's catalogue may be taken to be an accurate reflection of the business of the fair. About two thirds of the books offered for sale

---

[11] Gilmont, *Calvin and the printed book*, pp. 221–2.

[12] Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London, 1960), pp. 204–5.

[13] Plantin issued catalogues of his own titles in 1566, 1567, 1568, 1575 and 1584. Clair, *Plantin*, p. 203.

[14] A fine survey, including facsimiles of some of the earliest examples, is Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to AD 1800* (Cambridge, Roxburghe Club, 1965).

[15] The whole sequence of catalogues for the period 1564–1600 is available as a facsimile reprint: Bernhard Fabian, *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (5 vols., Hildesheim, 1972–2001).

were in Latin, ordered according to a conventional range of thematic
categories. Books of theology were followed by works of jurisprudence,
medicine, philosophy, history, poetry and music. The subsequent section
of German books followed much the same order, though with a small
miscellaneous section of works that has no Latin equivalent: books of
proverbs, cookbooks and the like.

A striking feature of the catalogues is that the fair offered a lively
trade in both Catholic and Protestant books. In Willer's catalogue
these were carefully differentiated into separate sections, but despite
Frankfurt's status as a thoroughly Protestant town, Catholic books
were well represented. On average Protestant theological texts outsold
Catholic texts by a margin of around two to one. This may partly have
been a reflection of Frankfurt's own ideological preference, but was
almost certainly also a consequence of the city's physical proximity to
the major centres of production of Protestant learned editions in the
Swiss Confederation.[16]

Willer's catalogue also, however, directs our attention to a previously
neglected aspect of the Frankfurt trade. From 1568, along with the
steadily expanding range of Latin and German titles, Willer included
a small number of books in other vernaculars, mostly in French or
Italian. At first these were only a handful of titles, and the section vari-
ous described as 'Bücher in frembden Sprachen', or, more portentously,
'Libri peregrine idiomate conscripti', never grew beyond a couple of
pages. Nevertheless it is clear that over the course of the second half
of the century a significant quantity of books in French were offered
for sale in Frankfurt.

These French books on sale at the Frankfurt Fair have never been the
subject of systematic analysis. It is interesting to ask why Willer included
them in his catalogues, and indeed why these particularly books were
chosen to take to Frankfurt. Who were likely to be their purchasers?
The information provided in Willer's individual catalogues is helpfully
summarised in a three part composite catalogue that listed all the books
offered for sale at the fair between 1568 and 1592.[17] This catalogue

---

[16] Paul Chaix, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Genève de 1500 à 1564* (Geneva, 1954), pp.
56 ff. Hans Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe*
(Geneva, 1969), pp. 48–51.

[17] *Collectio in unum corpus, librorum italicae, hispanice et gallice in lucem editorum a nundinis
Francofurtensibus anni 68. usque ad nundinas Autumnales anni 92. &c. C'est a dire, recueil en*

seems to have been the response to a long-felt need for a composite work of reference from which scholars could discover when and by whom particular books had been published. Foreign vernaculars are listed in the third volume of this work, after the much longer lists of Latin and German books. And in contrast to Willer's small miscellaneous list of foreign items in each individual catalogue, here the French, Italian and Spanish works are classified according to subject matter: using, it must be said, a detailed but extremely idiosyncratic system of classification (see appendix). This allows us to survey at a glance the relative importance attached to the market in different categories of literature, as well as the relative demand for books in French and Italian. To see how the market evolved over the more than three decades covered by this summary, it is necessary to return to the individual catalogues issued by Willer.

The production of Willer's catalogues was a co-operative venture. Printers intending to come to the fair sent Willer title-pages of their forthcoming works, so that he could arrange them in subject order.[18] The catalogues could then be distributed to printers around Europe, and by them passed to prospective customers. Their principal usefulness was therefore for the reading public and publishers who could not attend the fair, but bought their stock from printers who did. But it also helped publishers coming to the fair to have a sense of what would be available, and to be able to gauge from their customers how many copies they would be able to dispose of. Since the major part of the economy of the fair was based on barter between publishers (who were thus able to carry away from Frankfurt a vastly more varied stock), Willer's catalogues played a vital role in ensuring that the leading figures of the European book world approached the fair with the best possible information.

As has been stated, Willer issued his first catalogue in 1564; it comprised some 202 works, exclusively in Latin and German. By the following year he had refined his method of description to include fuller details of the publisher and place of publication of each item. The Latin books are drawn from a variety of international presses, among

---

un cours des libres italiens, espagnols et francois, qui ont este exposez en vente en la boutique des imprimeurs frequentans les foires de Francfort depuis l'an 1568 jusques à la foire de Septembre 1592. Extraict des catalogues desdictes foires, & reduict en methode convenable, et tresutile (Frankfurt, Nicolas Bassé, 1592).

[18] Polland and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, p. 75.

which Paris publishers are well represented. In this respect the catalogue was already highly international in character. The first mention of other foreign vernaculars occurs in the autumn catalogue of 1568, with a list of four titles: three in French, and one in Italian. Perhaps this represented no very large innovation, since three were texts printed by Plantin in Antwerp, and no doubt included in his regular consignment of books to the fair.[19] The remaining title was a French Plutarch by the Paris publisher Vascosan.[20] The following year, 1569, the two catalogues issued for the Lent and Autumn fairs included a number of Italian books published in Venice, a single Genevan edition (Calvin's sermons on Job)[21] and a first book in Spanish: a quarto Bible.

These early lists set the tone for the foreign language books on sale in Frankfurt for some years to come: predominantly in Italian and French, with a smattering in Spanish. It is nevertheless interesting to see what books it was thought likely that customers would wish to purchase in these languages. In the first years books of history vie for attention with popular works of literature and philosophy and modern theological works. From 1570 onwards, however, turbulent contemporary politics impact increasingly on the works offered for sale. The Lenten catalogue of 1570 offers the recently published Protestant account of the third civil war; the following year visitors may purchase Louis Le Roy's influential *Exhortation aux françois pour vivre en concorde*.[22] At the autumn fair of 1571 the selection of French books on offer is both broad and topical, including editions of Machiavelli, du Bellay, and, more ominously, the first military manuals to be included on this list.[23] The effect of the French troubles has been to crowd out the Italian books that previously dominated the list: significantly the books by Machiavelli and Bernardo Rocco on the art of war are both offered in French translations, rather than in their original languages.

The choice of titles hints at the influence in the international book world of members of the French Huguenot elite, many of whom at some point attended the fair in person. The French statesman theologian Philippe du Plessis Mornay visited the fair in 1569 where he met and conferred with Hubert Languet, another influential writer and

---

[19] Appendix nos. 1, 3 for the two French items.
[20] Appendix no. 150.
[21] Appendix no. 35.
[22] Appendix nos. 90, 152.
[23] Appendix nos. 137, 138, 157.

strategist in the Huguenot cause; Mornay returned to Frankfurt again two years later in 1571. In this unsettled period the Huguenot leadership could still hope for a political solution to the French troubles even while they planned for military action; a year later, with the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, the political context would change for ever. The slaughter in Paris produced considerable disruption in the French printing industry, and a temporary hiatus in the supply of French books to the Frankfurt Fair. But by 1574 interest in the Huguenot cause, and the French crown's stumbling efforts to eliminate resistance had revived, with a flurry of titles documenting Huguenot defiance, political and military. Books on sale included the *Histoire memorable de la ville de Sancerre*, one of the most notable sieges of the war where Huguenots successfully fought off their Catholic assailants, and, reflecting the unhappier face of these turbulent times, the *Discours du massacre de ceux de la religion reformee, fait à Lyon*.[24] More ominously for those who continued to hope for a negotiated settlement, the Frankfurt fair also offered for sale a French version of the *Francogallia* of François Hotman, one of the group of French political writings that postulated a radical reconfiguration of the relationship between crown and subjects.[25]

The principles of resistance and Huguenot strategy for an eventual settlement continued to feature strongly among the books offered for sale at the fair during the rest of this troubled decade. In 1577 those sympathetic to the French Huguenot cause could purchase both the *Resolution claire et facile sur la question tant de fois faicte de la prise des armes par les inferieurs*, and the incendiary *Tocsain contre les massacreurs*.[26] A second edition of this work was on sale in 1579, along with the magisterial *Droit du magistrate* of Theodore de Bèze.[27] The fair also offered two editions of the hostile satirical history of the house of Guise by Pierre de La Planche, *La legende de Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine*, and an edition of Simmler's *Republique des Suisses*, a highly suggestive account of the state of government in the Confederation since it had thrown off the Habsburg yoke.[28]

These years also witnessed a quickening of interest in events in the Netherlands. The period between the Pacification of Ghent in 1576

---

[24] Appendix nos. 166, 168.
[25] Appendix no. 102.
[26] Appendix nos. 142, 143.
[27] Appendix no. 120.
[28] Appendix nos. 118, 172.

and the fracturing of the opposition to Spain in 1579 were the years that offered the best prospect of a successful resolution of the rebellion from the perspective of William of Orange and his allies. These hopeful prospects were evident in a number of works on sale at the fair: the *Discours sommaire des justes causes et raisons qui on contrainct les Estats generaulx de pourveoir à leur defence* and the *Discours veritables des choses passées* both in 1578; the *Sommaire annotation des choses plus memorales* and the *Discours sur la permission de liberté de religion* in 1579; the *Vraye narration de ce qu' est traicté avec ceux de Malines* and *Lettres interceptes de quelques patriots masqués* in 1580.[29] These overtly political works were put on sale alongside a range of Protestant theological works and religious works, including both contemporary works such as Philippe du Plessis Mornay's *Traité de l' Eglise* and revivals of publications from the 1560s, including Pierre Viret's *Le monde à l'Empire* and the anonymous *Glaive du geant Goliath*.[30]

These were years when contemporary French and Netherlandish events gave a very particular colour to the vernacular works available for purchase. More recreational literature was also brought to the fair; but the sale catalogues suggest that on the whole buyers of French books in these years had more earnest preoccupations than to supply themselves with the sort of book that would normally have whiled away the leisure hours in an aristocratic household, or a bourgeois drawing-room. So although the books on sale did include works of poetry, literature, musical part books and philosophical texts, the largest categories by far were works of theology, history, and books on contemporary politics. These three categories alone make up 60% of the 302 French books offered for sale between 1568 and 1592.

With these remarks we are close to discerning the profile of the likely purchasers of these French books offered for sale in Frankfurt. Certainly one category of purchasers would have been members of the French Huguenot movement who found themselves obliged to travel abroad during periods of particular turbulence and danger at home. The Frankfurt fair also undoubtedly served the needs of French nationals settled in Germany on a longer term basis, such as the congregations of the French exile churches along the Rhine.[31] Through Frankfurt the more learned members of these churches would have been able

---

[29] Appendix nos. 115, 144, 182, 191.
[30] Appendix nos. 45, 46, 47.
[31] Philippe Denis, *Les églises d'étrangères en pays rhénan (1538–1564)* (Liège, 1984).

to supply themselves with the latest editions of important works of theology by Protestant writers such as Mornay, Lambert Daneau, or Jean de L'Espine.[32] Frankfurt may also have acted as a midway point for the exchange of Protestant theological works published in Geneva or the Netherlands. A central figure in this network was the émigré French printer André Wechel, who had moved to Frankfurt in the wake of the St Bartholomew's day massacre.[33] Wechel was closely connected to Hugues Languet, who had been instrumental in assisting his flight from Paris in 1572; in Frankfurt the two men remained closely allied, and Wechel profited in particular from the vast network of contacts developed by Languet in the course of his activities as political agent of the Duke of Saxony. Languet's correspondents feature prominently among the authors of the books published by Wechel in Frankfurt, a list that was almost exclusively scholarly and Latinate. His authors also include men like Hugues Sureau, a notorious figure in the French Calvinist movement for his double abjuration after St Bartholomew, who eventually settled in Frankfurt, where he translated a number of French texts into Latin and German for the international market.

While André Wechel's output was almost exclusively Latinate, the choice of texts very much reflects the scholarly and philosophical pre-occupations of many of those who bought the vernacular titles offered for sale in Frankfurt. This does not seem, by and large, to have been a market serving mercantile buyers (witness the relatively insignificant numbers of books of arithmetic),[34] nor were books offered for sale to be carried back for retail sale in France. We can note here the relative absence of medical texts, a far greater presence in both the German and Latin lists, the small number of dictionaries and grammars, and the almost total absence of classic school texts.[35] This is a market it seems clear that responded to the interests of engaged laymen, rather than the professional needs of men of business.

The French Wars of Religion inspired a considerable diaspora, as members of the Huguenot churches took refuge from the bloody vengeance of their hostile Catholic neighbours. This refuge is much more frequently studied from the point of view of the ministers and church

---

[32] Appendix nos. 41, 63, 70, 77.
[33] Ian Maclean, 'André Wechel at Frankfurt, 1572–1581', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1988, pp. 146–176.
[34] Appendix nos. 230, 231, 232.
[35] Appendix nos. 86–89, 264–270.

leaders forced to flee, than the members of the Huguenot aristocracy
who either went abroad themselves or sent their families and children.
The young Comte de Laval was one who spent his formative years
abroad under the care of Protestant tutors; another was Jacques Bongar,
later Henry IV's ambassador to the German Empire. For men of this
stamp, often bustling here and there on the affairs of Condé, and later
Henry of Navarre, the Frankfurt fair offered an important place of
exchange; a chance for conversation and consultation, as well as the
purchase of books. One might imagine that they also took the oppor-
tunity to exchange copies of the latest pamphlet accounts of French
events, and the edicts and proclamations with which the crown sought,
usually in vain, to put an end to the hostilities. This is a class of book
that scarcely features in the booksellers' catalogues at all, presumably
because individual items were too inexpensive to be worthy of listing.
But one can well imagine that they would have been eagerly passed
around by men starved of news at home.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that all the purchasers of
French books sold at the Frankfurt fair were themselves French. On
the contrary, the evidence presented here points to an important mar-
ket for French vernacular literature among important categories of
other foreign readers. This is a phenomenon that has not much been
commented upon up to this point. It is well known, for instance, that
German readers avidly consumed French literature in the age of the
Enlightenment; their taste for French literature in the earlier period is
much less fully documented. Similarly the amount of French literature
that found its way to England in the sixteenth century is only gradu-
ally becoming evident.[36] In both of these emerging Protestant literary
cultures there was considerable demand for the sober works of theol-
ogy and governance that would allow members of the political classes
to keep abreast of French events. But this interest in modern French
politics built on a healthy pre-existing interest in French literary culture.
This is one of the most striking emerging findings of the work of the
St Andrews French book project group, which has conducted, in the
last ten years a comprehensive survey of French vernacular print in
the sixteenth century. These investigations have involved, for the first

---

[36] See, from diverse perspectives, John J. O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule and its influence on English Literature* (New Brunswick, 1970); Francis Higman, 'Calvin's Works in Translation', in Andrew Pettegree et al. (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 82–99.

time, an extensive survey of French language literature in libraries outside France, a survey that reveals the importance of contemporary collecting of French vernacular literature in 16th century Germany.

Even in this era Germans seem to have been great readers of French literature. The great cycle of Amadis de Gaule, which in the French translation of Nicolas de Herberay became a bestseller throughout Europe, was eagerly sought by purchasers in England and Germany, and considerable numbers survive in collections in those countries (and also now in the United States).[37] Sometimes these books survive only in these libraries—as is the case with a number of volumes in the Longis imprint of the popular Paris octavo edition of 1555. The copies that survive in Gotha and Tübingen were clearly contemporary purchases, judging by contemporary marks of ownership, and in the case of the Tübingen copy, copious annotations.[38] The Tübingen set was the treasured possession of the Tübingen university professor Martin Crucius, a distinguished Humanist whose fine collection of scholarly books is an important part of the Tübingen collection. But he also valued his Amadis, noting carefully where he purchased each volume (as soon after it became available as possible), and when he finished reading it. It is no surprise that this highly portable octavo was popular with readers abroad, rather than the stately folio favoured by many wealthy French purchasers. It may also have been with the export market in mind that Jean Longis in 1557 published a fine, serviceable edition in an even smaller size, 16mo: though at the cost of forgoing the woodcut illustrations.[39]

The Amadis craze predates the Frankfurt catalogues, but the demand for recreational literature certainly makes it impact. The Frankfurt catalogues carry a significant quantity of lighter literary works, and the ever popular musical part books.[40] If the catalogues suggest that by the second half of the century purchasers of French books in England and Germany had their minds on more serious subjects this is certainly not exclusively the case.

The trade in French books was probably not on the same scale as the trade in German vernacular books. We do not of course know how

---

[37] See chapter nine in this volume.
[38] Tübingen UB: Dk IV 32–35.
[39] Mannheim UB: Sch 077/163a–d.
[40] Appendix nos. 233–257, 282–291.

many copies printers sent to the fair of most of the titles listed here, but they were unlikely to be the vast quantities shifted of some sorts of books. It is interesting to compare these observations on the French trade with the books sold by the Zwickau bookseller Michael Herder at the Lenten fair of 1569.[41] Herder sold 5,918 items at this fair. This is an astonishing total, particularly if one considers that he was one of 87 dealers represented at the fair. If he was only averagely successful then this would imply a total trade of something in the region of half a million books.

Herder's most successful books were of a type that have only a secondary place in the French lists. Chivalric romances feature strongly among books of which he sold more than one hundred copies; the most successful of all were two collections of didactic narratives and droll stories, and a household medicine book, *Das handbüchlein Apollinaris*, which sold 227 copies. Herder sold 69 copies of Aesop at this fair, and 77 of *Eulenspiegel*. These were books of a type that sold extremely well in France in normal circumstances; the French, in particular, had an almost inexhaustible appetite for chivalric romances, which sold in large quantities, and in all formats, throughout the century. But none of the publishers from Paris, Lyon, or Antwerp who published these books thought it worth their while to bring them to Frankfurt. For these were books for more leisured times, and more settled households. This seems also to have been the case for the books of popular morality which must have been a speciality for Herder, since he sold almost four hundred copies of works devoted to denunciations of the sins of pride, drunkenness, gambling and profanity. But these were the sins of prosperity. For the French abroad, far from home and often short of cash, the purchase of admonitory literature would itself have been a form of frivolity. Instead precious husbanded resources were invested in more substantial works that offered solace, or proposed solutions to the pressing problems facing the dispossessed victims of France's current troubles.

The French books sold at the Frankfurt fair were, by and large, books that would represent a significant investment; a considered purchase of a book intended to be carefully studied, or valued for its perspective on pressing contemporary events. Bearing this in mind it is striking how many of the books listed leave little trace in contemporary collections.

---

[41] Thompson, *Frankfort Book Fair*, pp. 34–38.

For the purpose of this study the attempt was made to identify actual editions of the three hundred or so French books listed in Willer's catalogues and recapitulated in Bassé's summary catalogue of 1592. The amount of detail given in the catalogue entries (clearly transcribed direct from the title-page) often made this a relatively simple matter, not least because we have at our disposal the information compiled for the bibliography prepared by the St Andrews French book project. This data provided surviving copy information for some 52,000 editions of French vernacular books, representing over 180,000 copies presently located in around 1660 libraries worldwide.

This investigation reveals that of the 304 books listed around ten percent cannot be traced to a surviving copy. This is not as surprising as it might seem. Many sixteenth-century books have disappeared altogether, and not only the mundane everyday print of broadsheets and cheap pamphlets. Many other far more prized and sometimes expensive books were often simply used to destruction.[42]

Of course the danger exists that in accepting catalogue entries as proof of publication, one creates books that never actually existed— either because the catalogue misrepresents a crucial piece of data (such as the date of publication), or because a publisher failed to publish the work promised. But the sheer wealth of detail in the Frankfurt lists presupposes us to believe that the catalogue entries may by and large be trusted. That so many of the books listed survive only in one, two or three copies also makes it inherently plausible that others are completely lost: though presumably they may continue to turn up, as other libraries continue the work of cataloguing their rare books.[43]

The 'lost' books of the Frankfurt catalogue bear further scrutiny, not least because they demonstrate the point that some classes and categories of sixteenth century books were far more likely to survive than others. The works of Protestant theology listed, for instance, almost all can still be traced to surviving copies, and some survive in large numbers; the Catholic books rather less so. This may seem a perverse conclusion, given that Protestant collections within France itself suffered sustained

---

[42] This is notably true of musical part books, which despite their high cost and sophisticated clientele often survive in only one of the four or five parts printed. See F. Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard (1551–1598)* (Paris, 1955). Henri Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545–1578* (Brussels, 1984).

[43] For instance appendix no. 224 (only surviving copy in Wolfenbüttel HAB), 229 (Ghent UB).

attrition in the 16th and 17th centuries, culminating in wholesale destructions at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. So it is not surprising that sometimes these Protestant works survive only in libraries in Britain, Germany and Switzerland, where they had often made their way, via Frankfurt, very soon after publication. The same phenomenon is even more pronounced in the case of the literary works listed here. These suffered a far higher rate of attrition than the works of theology listed in Willer's catalogue. These were sometimes relatively ephemeral books published in a handy 16mo. Some, like Guicciardini's *Heures de recreation*, were works translated from the Italian; others, such as the popular *Comptes du monde adventureux* were original compositions in French.[44] The undisputed master of such small format literary compositions was Benoist Rigaud of Lyon, and his books are extremely well represented in German collections: indeed, any study of his output based only on copies surviving in Paris, or even in all French libraries, would seriously underestimate his contemporary impact. Many of his books survive only in Germany, where the appetite for his particular form of recreational literature seems to have been particularly keen. Despite this, a number of his works are among those listed in the Frankfurt catalogues that have proved impossible to trace.

The study of the lost books from the Frankfurt catalogues offers some important lessons about the phenomenon of loss and survival. The rate of survival has often been assumed to have been largely a factor of size: that is, large and expensive books usually survive, and smaller, more ephemeral books are frequently lost. This is certainly true up to a point. But the most influential factor seems to be whether books were systematically collected at, or close to, the time of production. Such considerations explain why rates of survival are spectacularly good for the pamphlet literature of Luther's day: although essentially ephemeral, the *Flugschriften* were gathered up and collected assiduously at the time of publication. Against this countless school books, Latin and vernacular, often leave little trace. In other cases books do not survive because care was taken that they should not. This probably explains the complete disappearance of the three books listed here by Hendrik Niclaes, the leader of the Family of Love, none of which have been traced in a contemporary collection.[45]

---

[44] Appendix nos. 283, 285.
[45] Appendix nos. 83, 84, 85. The standard bibliography of the works of Henrik

The twists and turns of political events in France continue to leave their imprint on the books on sale in Frankfurt throughout the 1580s, and into the last decade of the century. Genevan imprints feature strongly among the relatively small number of books offered for sale in 1586: in this and subsequent years Philippe du Plessis Mornay and Jean de l'Espine were among the most popular authors on sale.[46] Visitors to the fair would also have been able to furnish themselves with successive volumes of Simon Goulart's compendious collection of contemporary tracts.[47] Otherwise the furious pamphlet literature of the League revolt of 1588–93 makes little impact on the Frankfurt sale catalogue. During these years Leaguer presses in Paris and Lyon turned out literally thousands of editions lauding the martyred Guise, and denouncing first the treachery of Henry III then the perjured usurper Henry of Navarre.[48] But these short, cheaply produced and often highly ephemeral works were not offered for sale in Frankfurt. Visitors to the spring fair of 1590 could read an account of Henry IV's crucial victory over the forces of the League at Ivry, near Evreux in Normandy, on 14 March. This was an edition published not in France, but dashed off the press by the local Frankfurt printer Joannes Wechel.[49] But this pamphlet, however heartening its contents would have been to many of Frankfurt's French visitors, was a rare instance of the polemical literature of the last decade of the French wars impacting on the Frankfurt book market. Otherwise the shifting spirit of the times is evident more in an increased equilibrium between Catholic and Protestant theological works available at the fair. It is possible that some of the fair's visitors had some

---

Niclaes lists only one sixteenth century French translation: an edition of the *Vrai tesmoignage de la terre spirituelle*, published by Niclaes Bohmbargen in Cologne in 1580. *Bibliotheca dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles; 22. The family of Love. I: Henrik Niclaes* by Alastair Hamilton (Baden-Baden, 2003), no. 1 ac. These three other French editions may well also have been Cologne imprints.

[46] Appendix nos. 59, 63.

[47] Appendix nos. 204, 205.

[48] Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant le Ligue (1585–1594)* (Geneva, 1975). The French book project now lists several hundred editions not known to Pallier or Baudrier.

[49] Appendix no. 206. There remains uncertainty whether Joannes Wechel was the son or nephew of André Wechel, or even whether they were related at all. When Joannes Wechel came to Frankfurt in 1581 he gave Cologne as his place of origin, but a connection with the Paris family seems likely. R. W. J. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe, 1572–1627* (*Past and Present*, Supplement 2, Oxford, 1975), p. 3n.

premonition of Henry of Navarre's impending spiritual journey, and
sought to anticipate it.

The imminence of peace does bring a subtle change in the French
books offered at the Frankfurt fair. The last five years of the century see
an increase in the number of bilingual and multilingual works on offer:
products both of the Antwerp presses, that built quite a specialism in
such literature, and German publications. It is possible that the fair is
responding both to a change in the character of their French visitors, and
a reduction in their overall number. In several of the catalogues at the
very end of the century there is no section of foreign books at all.

It is clear that trade in French, Italian and Spanish books occupied
only a tiny fraction of the turnover of the Frankfurt fair. Nevertheless,
the market was significant enough for publishers from Paris, Antwerp
and Geneva to ensure that a selection of their latest books were avail-
able for purchase. The French trade at Frankfurt may be set alongside
other small, distinct markets that can be identified in Europe's shifting
kaleidoscope of trade. The movement of books around the European
book world was never in perfect equilibrium, and frequently shifting.
The supply of Latin and Italian books from southern Europe seems,
for instance, never to have been balanced by an equivalent movement
of texts in the opposite direction. Investigations of these specialized
micro-markets will no doubt shed further light on how the trade man-
aged to satisfy particular demands: for instance the trans-European
trade in scientific books.[50] The trade in foreign vernacular books at
the Frankfurt fair may appear at first sight quite general, but it turns
out on further inspection to be very different from the market for
vernacular books within France itself. It reflects the particular needs
of an educated group of often unwilling travelers, and of interested
foreign observers, for news and spiritual solace; but most particularly for
guidance through the difficult political choices facing France's warring
parties in the second half of the sixteenth century.

---

[50] Alexander Marr (ed.), *The Worlds of Oronce Fine. Mathematics, Instruments, and the Book
in Renaissance France* (forthcoming, 2007).

Fig. 7.1 Foreign Vernacular Books on sale at the Frankfurt Fair

	French	Italian	Spanish	Totals
Catholic theology	34	35	7	76
Protestant theology	48	0	0	48
Unclassified theology	3	0	0	3
Medicine	4	5	0	9
Philosophy	8	4	0	12
Politics	35	19	0	54
Rhetoric	0	5	0	5
Dialectic	1	0	0	1
Apologetics	4	1	0	5
Polemics	11	5	3	19
Architecture and Military	2	6	0	8
History	62	48	2	112
Poetry	18	9	1	28
Arithmetic	3	0	0	3
Music	25	37	0	62
Cosmography	2	5	2	9
Topography	4	4	0	8
Astronomy	0	3	0	3
Grammars and Dictionaries	7	8	1	16
Voyages	2	1	0	3
Dueling	1	0	0	1
Agriculture	1	2	0	3
Equestrianism	1	4	1	6
Nobility	2	2	1	5
Funerals	2	2	0	4
Games	2	1	0	3
Culinary	0	2	0	2
Love	10	4	0	14
Earthquakes	1	0	0	1
Varia erudite	12	11	0	23
Totals	304	223	18	545
	55.8%	40.9%	3.3%	

Appendix

Collectio in unum corpus, librorum italicae, hispanice et gallice in lucem editorum a nundinis Francofurtensibus anni 68. usque ad nundinas Autumnales anni 92. &c.[51]

    C'est a dire, recueil en un cours des libres italiens, espagnols et francois, qui ont este exposez en vente en la boutique des imprimeurs frequentans les foires de Francfort depuis l'an 1568 jusques à la foire de Septembre 1592. Extraict des catalogues desdictes foires, & reduict en methode convenable, et tresutile.

I. Pontificiorum Theologorum

1. Le manuel de devotion. Antverpiae apud Platinum 12. 1568. A
2. Heures de nostre dame à l'usage de Rome en latin en francoys. Antverpiae, apud Plantinum 16.
3. L'histoire de l'ancien Tobie, & de son fils le jeune Tobie. Item, L'histoire de la noble vefue Judith. Le vertueux faict de la noble dame Susanne, &c. Antwerpiae apud Plantinum in 4. 1568. A
4. Le prompuaire des exemples des vertus & vices, recueilli de l'ancien & nouveau Testament. par Nicolas Hapae en Anvers 1569. V
5. La defence de la foy de nos ancestres par F. Christophle cheffontaines. 8. A Paris 1571 A
6. La theologie naturelle de Raymond Sebon. A Paris 1571. A
7. L'art et maniere de parfaictement ensuivre Jesus Christ & mespriser de toutes les vanitez de ce monde, autrement dite L'eternelle Consolation jadis compose en latin par Thomas des Champs, & puis n'agueres fidelement traduite selon le sens de l'Autheur. 12. à Anvers 1572. V
8. Six sermons sur l'explication de l'oraison Dominicale, & autres quadres sur l'incarnation de nostre redempteur Jesus Christ. Tous faicts par Messire Françoys Richardot Evesque d'Arras. 8. à Anvers 1572. A

---

[51] Note to the Appendix. The French items are here transcribed from the composite list published in 1592: the original contains French, Italian and Spanish items. The section headings are as given in the original published list; the sequential numbering of items has been added for convenience of reference. The date and identification of the Fair (V = vernus, spring; A = autumnus, autumn) represents the fair at which the book was offered for sale; particularly in the case of the Lenten fair, this may be the year after publication.

9. Le nouveau Testament de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ traduit de latin en françoys par les theologiens de Louvain. 16. à Anvers. 1573. A

10. Exposition avec exhortations sur les leçons; Epistres & Evangiles du Quatresme: divisees en huict tomes et le huictiesme tome en huict parties: par F. Gabriel Dupuyherbault. à Paris par Jean de Roigny. &c 1574 & 1576 V

11. L'Imitation de Christ. Comment il faut mespriser toutes les vanitez de ce monde, faite il a fort long temps, par un home craignant Dieu, nouvellement translate en françoys 16. 1576. A

12. Manuel general, & instruction des Curez & Vicaires contenant sommairement le devoir de leur charge soit à faire prosnes, adminstrer les Saincts sacremens & enseigner leurs paroissiens, par exhortations propres adaptées à iceux. Le tout tire des escriptures Sainctes, & anciens docteurs de l'Eglise. Avec plusieurs sermons pour la declaration des ceremonies de l'Eglise de Dieu. par F. Denys Peronet docteur en Theologie. 8. à Paris 1577. V

13. La sainct Bible contenant le viel & nouveau Testament traduicts de latin en françoys. fol. à Anvers de l'Imprimerie de Christofle Plantin. 1578. V

14. Decoration de la fameuse Abbaye des freres de Morges. 8. 1578 V

15. La saincte Bible in folio. Lugduni par Barthelemi Honorat. 1578 A

Ex Patribus.

16. Dix livres de Theodoret Evesque de Cyr ancient docteur de l'Eglise touchant la providence de Dieu contre les Epicuriens & Atheistes. 8 à Lyon 1578. A

17. La leçon Chrestienne, ou les offices & debuoirs familiers & convenables à tous disciples de Christ tirez des precepts & institutions du souverain Maistre, & colligez en un brief sommaire pour l'instruction du petit troupeau. par Benoit Arias Montan, traduict du latin en francoys. à Anvers 1579. A

18. Bref traité de l'institution des pecheurs, par M. Claude de Vieymont. 16. à Anvers par Jean Bellere 1582. A

19. Heures de nostre dame à l'usage de Rome selon la reformation de nostre S. Pere le Pape Pie V. 4. à Paris 1583. & 1584. V

20. Sept dialogues auquels sont examinez cent soixante et quatorze erreurs des Calvinistes. par Françoys Feuardent. à Paris. Sebastien Nivelle. 8. 1585. V

21. Pratique spirituelle d'une servante de Dieu à l'exemple de laquelle se peut exercer toute religieuse personne spirituelle. à Louvain. 12. 1585. A

22. La somme des pechez, & le remede d'iceux, premierement recuillie, & puis nouvellement reveue, corrigée, augmentée, & amplifiée, par Reverend P. F. I. Benedicti, professeur en Theologie, de l'ordre des freres mineurs de l'observance & Pere Provincial de la province de Touraine Pictavienne. à Paris chez Arnold Sittart. in fol. 1586. & 1587. V

23. Rescriptions faictes entre M. Gilles de la Cousture Lillois depuis son retour du Calvinisme au giron de l'Eglise Romaine & M. Antoine L'Escaillet encores ministre Vallon en la ville de Cantorberi pays d'Angleterre. 8. Antverpiae. Plantinus 1588. V

24. Le livre de la compagnie, C'est a dire les cinq livres des institutions Chrestiennes, dressees pour l'usage de la confrererie de la tresheureuse vierge Marie, mis en François du latin de R. P. François Coster Docteur en Theologie de la compagnie du nom de Jesus. 8. Antverpiae apud Christoph. Platinum. 1588. V

25. Cinquante meditations de toute l'histoire de nostre Seigneur, par R. P. François Costerus docteur en Theologie de la societé & compagnie de Jesus, & mises en François de la traduction de Gabriel Chappuis Tourangeau, Annaliste & translateur de la Majesté treschrestienne, & tresreligieuse. 8 Antverpiae apud Plantinum. 1588. V

26. La practique spirituelle de la devote & religieuse princes de Parme, utile à tous pour vivre chrestiennement, Auec les Letavies de la sacrée vierge Marie, comme les disent ceux, qui sont de la congregation de ladite vierge. Et un Catalogue de livres spirituals: tant pour se converter à Dieu, que pour faire progrez aux sainctes vertus. 24. Antverpiae excudebat Christophorus Plantinus 1588. V

27. L'Antechrist demasqué, par Claude Caron docteur medecin d'Annonay en Vivarois. à Tournon par Guillaume Linocier. 8. 1589 A

28. Le manuel des Catholiques contenant la vraye maniere de prier Dieu, du R. pere P. Canisius mis en François par Gabriel Chappuis. Antverpiae apud Plantinum 16. 1589. A

29. L'Adieu de l'ame devote laissant le corps, avec les moyens de combatre la mort par la mort, & l'appareil pour heureusement se partir de ceste vie mortelle. Composé par R. P. M Loys Richeome de la compagnie de Jesus. A Tournon par Guillaume Linocier. 8. 1590 A

30. Response aux blasphemes d'un ministre de Calvin sacramentaire semez dans les escris, contre le S. Sacrifice de l'Autel par Claude

Caron docteur medecin d'Annonay en Vivaroys. A Tournon 8. 1590 & 1591. V

31. Guidon & pratique spirituelle du soldat Chrestien par le R. P. Thomas Sailly prestre de la compagnie de Jesus. A Anvers 8. 1590 & 1591. V

32. Traité du S. sacrement de Baptesme, & ceremonies d'iceluy, par Claude Caron docteur medecin d'Annonay en Vivaroys. A Tournon 8. 1591. V

33. De la saincte philosophie livrée A Lyon pour Jaques Faure 24. 1591. V

34. Guidon & Practique spiritual du soldat Chrestien, recueillie pour l'armee de sa majesté Catholique, par le R. P. Thomas Sailly prestre de la compagnie de Jesus. à Anvers, en l'Imprimerie Plautiniene, chez la vefue de Jean Mourentorff. 1592. V

II. Protestantium Theolog.

35. Sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur les livres de Job. A Geneve. fol. 1569. A

36. Les pseaumes de David, mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot, & Theodore de Beze. Avec la prose en marge, & une oraison a la fin d'un chacun pseaume par M. Augustin Marlorat. 16. A Geneve par Abel Rivery. 1577. V

37. L'Excellence de la justice chrestienne compose par Jean de L'Espine ministre de la parole de Dieu, & nouvellement mise en lumiere, pour l'instruction & consolation des enfans de Dieu. 8. 1577. V

38. Exhortation chrestienne à Heildelberg sur le trespass du treshaut & tresdebonnaire Prince Monseigneur Frideric Conte Palatin du Rhin, Electeur du S. Empire. Pere de la patrie & protecteur des fideles affligez, faicte & preschée par Daniel Toussain. 8. A Heidelberg 1577. V

39. Le nouveau Testament, c'est a dire la nouvelle alliance de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ. Reveu & corrigé de nouveau sur le grec par l'advis des ministres de l'Eglise de Geneve. Avec annotations revues & augmentées par M. Augustin Marlorat. 16. A Geneve. pour Jacob Chouet. 1577. V

40. Traité de l'Eglise, contenant un vray discours pour cognoistre la vraye Eglise, & la discerner d'avec l'Eglise Romaine, & toutes fausses assemblees. 8 A Geneva. par Eustache Vignon 1577. A

41. Traité de l'Antechrist revue & augmenté en plusieurs endroits en ceste traduction françoise par l'advis de l'Autheur compose

premierement en latin par l'Ambert Daneau, & tranduit nou-
vellement en françoys par I.F.S.M. 8. A Geneve chez Eustache
Vignon 1577. A

42. L'Alcoran des Cordeliers, tant en latin qu'en françoys, c'est a dire
recueil des plus notables bourdes, & blasphemes impudens de
ceux qui ont osé comparer sainct François à Jesus Christ, tire du
grand livre des Conformitez, jadis compose par frere Barthelemi
de Pise, Cordelier en son vivant. Parti en deux livres. 8. A Geneve
par Guillaume de Laimarie 1578. V

43. Traicté de l'Eglise auquel sont disputes les principales questions
qui ont esté meues sur ce point en nostre temps. Par Philippe du
Mornay Seig. du Plessis Marlyn. 8. Imprimé à Londres, par Thomas
Vautrollier 1578. A

44. Response Chrestienne au premier livre des calumnies & nouvel-
les faussetez des deux Apostats, Matthieu de Launoy Prestre, &
Henry Pannetier n'agueres ministres & maintenant retournez à
leur vomissement. 8. 1578. A

45. Le monde a l'Empire, & le monde demoniacle faict par dialogues.
reueue & augmenté par Pierre Viret. A Geneve. 1579. A

46. Le glaive du gean Goliath Philistin, & ennemi de l'Eglise de Dieu.
8. 1579. A

47. Traité de l'Eglise auquel sont disputes les plus principales questions,
qui ont esté meues sur ce point de nostre temps. Par Philippe du
Mornay Seigneur du Plessis Marlyn. 16. 1579. A

48. La Bible qui est toute la saincte Escriture, contenant le viel & nou-
veau Testament. On a adiousté en ceste edition entre autres choses
les argumens sur chacun livre, figures, cartes, tant chorographiques
que autres, avec l'Harmonie des passages correspondans des quatre
derniers livres de Moyse. in fol. A Geneve de l'Imprimerie de Jacob
Stoer 1580. A

49. Des Grands & redoutables jugemens & punitions de Dieu advenus
au monde, principalement sur les grands, a cause de leurs meffaits,
contrevenans aux commandemens de la loy de Dieu, le tout mis
en deux livres, suivant la distinction des deux tables de ladicte loy
&c. A Morges par Jean le Preux. 8. 1581. V

50. L'estat de la Religion, & Republique du people Judaique. par Paul
Eber ministre de Vuitemberg. chez Eustache Vignon. 8. 1581. &
1582. V

51. De la verité de la Religion Chrestienne, contre les Athees Epicuriens,
payens, Juifs, Mahumetistes, & autres infideles. par Philippes de

Mornay, sieur de Plessis Marlyn. A Anvers de l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin 4. 1581 & 1582. V

52. Institution de la Religion Chrestienne, par Lucas Osiander D. Tubinge. 8. 1582. V

53. Traité de l'Eglise auquel sont disputes les principales questions qui ont esté meues sur ce point en nostre temps, Par Philippes du Mornay S. du Plessis Marlyn, gentilhomme François. A Francfort chez les heretiers d'André Wechel. 1582. A

54. L'Exercice de l'ame fidele, C'est assavoir, Prieres & meditations pour se consoler en toutes sortes d'afflictions & singulierement pour se fortifier en la foy, reueues parcidevant, & digerees par ordre selon les aricles de nostre foy, & de nouveau en ceste derniere edition enrichies & augmentees par Daniel Toussain ministre de la parole de Dieu. 16. A Francfort par les heretiers d'André Wechel. 1583. V

55. Les lamentations & saincts regrets du prophete Jeremie avec paraphrase ou exposition appropriée à ce temps en toutes sortes lamentables. Par Daniel Toussain. 8 A Spire par Bernard Dalbin 1584. V

56. Traité du mespris de la mort, distingué en huict livres. Par Christofle de Beaulieu seigneur de laugle gentil'homme François. A Anvers par Jaques Henric. 1584. & 1585. V

57. La consolation de l'ame sur l'asseurance de la remission des pechez, &c. par Jean Chassanion. 8. Excudebat Jean le Preux. 1585. V

58. Response aux cinq premieres & principales demandes de F. Jean Hay, Moyne Jesuite aux ministres Escossois. 8 par Jean le Preux 1586. A

59. Sermons sur les trois premiers chapitres du cantique des cantiques de Salomon. Par Theodore de Beze ministre de la parole de Dieu en l'Eglise de Geneve. 8. Jean le Preux 1586. A

60. Histoires memorables des grans & merveilleux jugemens & punitions de Dieu advenues au monde, principalement sur les grands a cause de leurs mesfaits, contrevenans aux commandemens de la loy de Dieu. Par Jean Chassanion de Momstrol en Vellay. 8. Imprimé par Jean le Preux. 1586. A

61. Meditations chrestiennes. A Londres par Thomas Vautrollier in 16. 1586. A

62. La religion chrestienne declare par dialogue, & distinguee en trois livres, dont la substance & liason se trouvera es pages suivantes la preface, compose par Matthieu Virelle ministre du sainct Evangile. Imprimé a Geneve chez Eustache Vignon. 8. 1587. V

63. Excellens discours de Jean de Lespine Angevin, touchant le repos & contentement de l'esprit, distinguez en sept livres nouvellement mis en lumiere, avec sommaires & annotations qui monstrent l'ordre & la suite des discours. in 8. Imprimé à Basle 1587. A

64. Les actes du Colloque du Montbeliardt, qui s'est tenu l'an de Christ 1586. avec laide du seigneur Dieu tout puissant y presidant le tresillustre prince & seigneur Monseigneur Frideric Conte de Virtemberg & Montbeliardt, &c. Entre tresrenommez personnages le docteur Jaques André Preposé & Chancelier de l'Université de Tubinge, & le sieur Theodore de Beze professeur & ministre à Geneve. Imprimé à Montbeliardt par Jaques Foillet. 8. 1588 V

65. Response à la profession de foy publiee par les moynes de Bordeaux contre ceux de l'Eglise reformee pour leur faire abjurer la vraye religion. 8. 1588. A

66. Chrestienne & necessaire exposition du Catechisme tiree de la parole de Dieu & dressee par demandes & responces publiee en la principauté des deux ponts par le commandement de tresillustre Prince Jean Conte Palatin du Rhin, Duc de Bavieres, Conte de Veldents, Spanheim, &c. A Geneve de l'Imprimerie de Jean le Preux. 8. 1588. A

67. Le livre des marchans, ou plustost des affronteurs, & vendeurs pe hapelourdes. A Frankdal chez les heretiers de Jean Barsanges. 16. 1588. A

68. Traité de l'Eglise auquel sont disputes les questions principales qui ont esté meues sur ce point en nostre temps, par Philippe du Mornay, seigneur de Plessis Marlyn gentil'homme François. A Lausanne, de l'Imprimerie de Jean Chiquelle. in 16. 1588. A

69. L'Antimoine aux responces que T. de Beze fait à 37 demandes de deux cens & six proposees aux ministres d'escosse par M. Jean Hay de la compagnie de Jesus. A Tournon, par Claude Michel 8. 1588. A

70. Excellens discours de Jean de L'Espine Angevin, distinguez en sept livres, nouvellement mis en lumiere, avec sommaires & annotations, qui monstrent l'ordre & suite des discours. A la Rochelle par Theophile Regius 8. 1588. A

71. L'Antimartyr de frere Jaques Clement, de l'ordre des Jacopins, C'est a dire, s'il a justement tué le feu Roy de tresheureuse memoire Henry III: Et s'il doit estre mis au rang des martyrs de Jesus Christ, avec une belle remonstrace aux François. 8. 1590. A

72. Le miroir par lequel on voit les assaux que l'Eglise Chrestienne a receus depuis la mort de Jesus Christ jusques auiourdhuy, tant par

les Payens, Turcs, Infideles, Sarrasins, & Juifs, que par leur successeur Romain, contenant les troubles guerres civiles, & massacres qui on esté faits en France jusques aux troubles commencez l'an 1585. in 8. Imprimé à Montauban par Jean de Tours 1590. A

73. Simple recit de la verité contenue es sainctes escritures & livres des Peres orthodoxes docteurs de l'Eglise primitive touchant l'Ascension & Majesté, la Cene, le Baptesme, & la predestination de Christ. Par Jaques Macler ministre de l'Eglise de Montbeliard in 8. A Montbeliard 1590. A

74. La devocieuse semaine de Jean Avenaire docteur en Theologie nouvellement traduits de latin en François. in 12. à Monbeliard 1590. A

75. Brief recueil du colloque de Montbeliard tenu au mois de May 1586. Entre Jaques André D. & M. Theodore de Beze. traduit de latin en François. in 8. 1590. A

76. Les pseaumes de David mis en rithme françoise par Clement Marot, & Theodore de Beze, & en Alemand par Ambrosius Lobwasser: avec mesme chant, & oraisons le tout vis a vis l'un de l'autre. A Geneve par Jacob Stoer. 1591. V

77. Traite de la providence de Dieu, pour le repos & contentement des consciences fideles, par M. J. de Lespine. De l'Imprimerie de Jean le Preux 8. 1591. V

78. Sermon sur l'histoire de la passion & sepulture de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, descrite par les quatre Evangelistes par Theodore de Beze. Par Jean le Preux 8. 1591. A

79. Traité des vrayes essentielles & visibles marques de la vraye Eglise Catholique. Par Theodore de Beze. Par Jean le Preux. 8. 1591. A

80. Excellens discours de Jean de Lespine Angevin Theologien touchant le repos & contentement de l'esprit contenans infinies doctrines & fermes consolations à toutes sortes de personnes affligees en ces derniers temps. Distinguez en sept livres & mis en lumiere avec sommaires & annotations. par S.G.S. & dediez au sieur de la Noue A Geneve 16. 1591. A

81. Response de Theodore de Beze, pour la justification par l'imputation gratuite de la justice de Jesus Christ, apprehendé par la seule foy. Contre un certain escrit sans le nom de son autheur imprimé n'agueres furtivement, & semé par & la par un certain Antoine L'Escaille, traduit de latin en François. Par Jean le Preux 8. 1592. V

82. Le nouveau Testament. A Geneve par Pierre de S. André in 8. Stoer. 1592. V

III. Anonimi cuiusdam scripta a Theologica quem separatim ponendum esse duximus nec adscribendum classi Pontificiorum vel Protestantium Theologorum.

83. Declaration evidente de l'exigence du Seigneur, & des tesmoiniages salutaires du Sainct Esprit, de la charité de Jesus Christ. Produite par Fidelitas Coancien avec HN. en la famille de Charité. Traduite de bas Alleman. 8. 1579. A

84. Epistre HN. une voix d'appel du Sainct Esprit de la charité par laquelle tous peoples sont de pure grace, appellez & inuitez par HN. à la vraye penitence de leurs pechez à l'ingression de la droite vie Chrestienne, & à la maison de charité de Jesus Christ. 8 1579. A

85. Annoncement de la paix sur la terre, & du temps propice & l'aimee agreeable du Seigneur Jesus Christ, & de son Sainct esprit de charité, est maintenant au dernier annoncé par HN. sur la terre. Traduit de bas Alleman. 8 1579 A

IV. Medici.

86. Deux livres des venins, ausquels il est amplement discoureu des bestes venimeuses, theriaques, poisons, & contrepoisons par Jaques Grevin. Item ensemble les oeuvres de Nicandre medecin & poete Grec, traduites en vers François. à Anvers apud Plantinum. 8. 1568. V

87. Cinq livres de Chirurgie. I. Des bandages. 2. Des fracteures. 3 Des luxations, avec une Apologie touchant les harquebousades. 4. des morsures & picqueures venimeuses. 5. des goutes. Par Ambroise Paxé. 8 A Paris 1572. A

88. Les oeuvres de M. Ambroise Pare conseiller, & premier chirurgien du Roy. Avec les figures & pourtraits tant de l'Anatomie que des instrumens de Chirurgie, & de plusieurs monstres. fol. à Paris. 1575. A

89. Commentaires de M. Pierre Mattiole medecin Senois sur les six livres de Ped. Dioscorid. Anazaarbeen de la matiere medicinale. fol. A Lyon par Guillaume Rouille. 1579. A

V. Philosophici & Morales.

90. Exhortation aux François pour vivre en concorde, & iouit du bien de la paix. Par Louys le Roy. A Paris. 8. 1571. V

91. Les oeuvres morales de Plutarque translatees en françois. A Basle 1574. A

92. Academie françoise en laquelle il est traité de l'institution des meurs, & de ce qui concerne le bien, & heureusement vivre en tous estats & conditions, par les precepts de la doctrine, & les exemples de la vie des anciens sages & homes illustres, par Pierre de la Primaudaye. fol A Paris 1577. A

93. L'institution de la femme Chrestienne, tant en son enfance comme en marriage, & viduité avec office de mari, traduite en François du latin. de Louys Vives. in 8. & imprimé à Anvers. 1579. A

94. Deux livres de la Constance de Juste Lipse, mis en François 4. Christoph. Plant. 1584. A

95. Le Theatre du Monde, ou il est faict un ample discours des miseres humaines, compose en latin par Pierre Boistuau surnommé Launay, natif de Bretagne, puis traduit par le mesme Autheur en françois. Imprimé à Lyon par Jean Gazeau in 16. 1588. A

96. Les offices de M. Tulle Ciceron traitant du debuoir des homes. le tout latin & François In 16. Genevae 1589 V

VI. Politici.

97. Ordonnance edict & decret du Roy nostre Sire sur le faict de la justice criminelle es pays bas. A Anvers de l'imprimerie de Christofle Plantin 4. 1571. V

98. La harangue que fit le Roy à Messieurs de la court de parlement en son palais à Paris, estant lors en son siege Royal, le lundi douzieme jour de Mars. 8. 1571. A

99. Diete Imperiale, ou Ordonnances & resolution de l'Empereur & des Estats du S. Empire, deliberee & arrestee en la derniere journee tenue à Spire en l'an 1570. &c. 8. A Paris. 1572. A

100. Epistres des princes, lesquelles ou touchent, ou traittent les affaires des princes, ou parlent des princes 4. A Paris 1573. V

101. Harangue faicte & prononcee de la part du Roy treschrestien le 10. jour du mois d'Auril 1573. par Monseigneur Jean de Moluc, &c. A Paris 1573. A

102. La Gaule françoise de François Hotoman jurisconsulte, traduite de latin en François. 1574 V

103. Les premieres oeuvres de Philippe Desportes au Roy de France & Pologne. 8. à Annecy par Jaques Bertrand 1576, & 1577. V

104. Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner maintenant en bonne paix un Royaume, ou autre principauté, divisez en trois parties assavoir du Conseil, de la Religion, & Police que doit tenir un Prince, contre Nicolas Machiavel Florentin, a treshaut & tresillustre

Prince Françoys Duc d'Alençon fils & frere du Roy. 8 A Lyon 1576 & 1577. V

105. La France Turquie, C'est a dire conseils & moyens tenus par les ennemis de la couronne de France pour reduire le royaume en tel estat que la tyrannie Turquesque 8. A Orleans de l'Imprimerie de Thibaut des Murs 1576. & 1577. V

106. Remonstance pour la paix aux Estats. 8. Au Souget. 1576. & 1577. V

107. Remonstrance d'un bon Catholique François aux trois Estats de France, que s'assembleront à Blois, suivant les lettres de sa Majesté du 9. d'Aoust presentee l'annee 1577. 8 V

108. Remonstrance aux françois pour les induire de vivre en paix a l'advenir. 8. 1576. & 1577. V

109. Remonstrance au Roy treschrestien III. de ce nom Roy de France & de Pologne, sur le faict des deux Edicts de sa Maiesté donnees à Lyon, l'un du X de Septembre, & l'autre du xiij. d'Octobre dernier passé, presentee l'annee 1574. touchant la necessité de paix, & moyens de la faire. 8. à Angenstein par Gabriel Jason 1576 & 1577. V

110. Les six livres de la Republique de Jean Bodin Angevin à M. du Faur, seigneur de Pibrac, conseiller du Roy, en son conseil privé. 8. A Lausanne 1577. V

111. Notable & sommaire discours de l'estat des affaires de France depuis l'edict de pacification faict au mois de May 1576. contenant les artifices dont les ennemis du repos de France ont usé, pour abolir le dernier Edict de pacification, & introduire plus grands troubles que jamais. 8. Imprimé à Reins par Jean Martin 1577. A

112. Readvis & abduration d'un gentil'homme françois de la Ligue contenant les causes pour lesquelles il a renoncé à ladite ligue, & s'en est departy. 1577. A

113. Vive description de la tyrannie, & des tyrans avec les moyens de se garentir de leur joug. in 16. A Reins par Jean Mouchar 1577. A

114. Harangue prononcee devant le Roy, seant en ses Estats generaux à Blois, par Reverend Pere en Dieu, Messire Pierre Despinac, Evesque, Comte de Lyon, primat des Gaules, au nom de l'Estat Ecclesiastique de France. 8. à Anvers 1577. A

115. Discours sommaire des justes causes & raison qui ont contraint les Estats generaux des pays bas de pourvoir à leur deffence contre le seigneur don Jean d'Austruce. in 4. Imprimé A Anvers par Guillaume Sylvius, imprimeur du Roy 1577. & 1578. V

116. Les six livres de la Republique de Jean Bodin Angevin A Monseigneur du Faux, seigneur de Pibrac, &c. fol & in 4. A Paris 1578. A

117. Discours de Jean Bodin sur le rehaussement & diminution des monoyes, tant d'or que d'argent, & le moyen d'y remedier & response aux paradoxes de Monsieur de Malestroit. A Paris 1578. A

118. Republique des Suisses, contenant le gouvernement d'iceux depuis l'Empereur Paoul de Haspourg jusques à Charles le Quint, &c. Descritte en latin par Josias Simler de Zurich, & nouvellement mise en françois 8. 1579

119. Discours sur la permission de liberté de Religion, dicte Religion-vrede au pais bas. 8. 1579. A

120. Du droit des magistrats sur leurs subjets. 8. 1579. A

121. Exhortation amiable, & conseil salutaire pour le pays bas, monstrant la cause de la presente dissension intestine & le remede qui y pourroit estre mis. 8. 1579. A

122. Recueil de la negociation de la paix traitee à Coulogne en la presence des commissaires de la Majesté Imperiale, Entre les ambassadeurs du serenissime Roy Catholique, & de l'Archiduc Matthias, & les Estats du pays bas. 8. Anvers. 1580. A

123. Le secret des finances de France. 8. 1581. V

124. De la puissance legitime du prince sur le peuple, & du peuple sur le prince. Traité tresutile & digne de lecture en ce temps, escrit en latin par Estienne Junius Brutus, & nouvellement traduit en françois. 8. 1581. A

125. Traité de la Justice recueilli des oeuvres de ce grand philosophe & parfait orateur M. T. Ciceron & traduit en françois par Henry de Vuithem. 4. à Anvers 1582. A

126. Instruction aux Princes pour garder la foy promise, contenant un sommaire de la philosophie Chrestienne & morale, & debuoir d'un homme de bien, Par M. Cognet, Chevalier, Conseiller du Roy, 4. A Paris chez Jaques du Puys 1584. V

127. Sixiesme edition & recueil d'Arrests des Cours souveraines de France, par Jean Papon. Imprimé par Jean de Tournes, in 8. 1587. A

128. La harangue faicte par le Roy Henri III. de France & de Pologne, a l'ouverture de l'assemblee des trois estats generaux de son Royaume, en sa ville de Bloys, le 36. jour d'Oobre l'an 1588. A Bloys par Barthelemi Gomet, & Jamet Mestayer imprimeurs du Roy. 4. 1588. & 1589. V

129. Discours sur l'estat de France, avec la copie des lettres patentes du Roy depuis qu'il s'est retiré de Paris: ensemble la copie des deux lettres du Duc de Guise. 1588 & 1589. V

130. Declaration du Roy pour la remise de l'assemblee generale des princes, Cardinaux, Ducs, & pairs de France. in 4. A Tours chez Jameot Metuyer imprimeur 1590. V

131. Les lettres d'Estienne Pasquier conseilier & advocat general du Roy en la chambre des Comtes de Paris. à Avignon 16. 1590. 1591. V

VII. Rhetorici.

VIII. Organum Analysis & Dialectica.

132. L'Organe, c'est a dire l'instrument du discours, divisé en deux parties, sçavoir est l'analytique pour discourir veritablement, & la dialectique pour discourir probablement. Le tout puisé de l'organe d'Aristote. Dedié au Roy treschrestien. Par M. Philippes Canaye Sieur de Fresnes, Conseiller de sa Majesté en son grand Conseil. Imprimé par Jean de Tournes, imprimeur du Roy. fol. 1589. V

IX. Apologetici

133. Apologeme pour le grand Homere, comme la reprehension du divin Platon sur aucuns passages d'iceluy, par Guillaume Paquelin Beaunois. 4. A Lyon par Charles Pesnot 1577. V

134. Apologie on deffence pour les Chrestiens de France, qui sont de la religion Evangelique ou reformee, satisfaisant à ceux qui ne veluent vivre en paix & concorde avec eux. 8. A Geneve par Antoine Chuppin. 1578. A

135. Protestation & deffence pour le Roy de Navarre Henry III. premier prince de France, & Henry aussi prince de Condé aussi prince de mesme sang, contre l'injuste & tyrannique Bulle de Sixte cinquiesme. traduite du latin intitulé Brutum Fulmen. 8. 1587. A

136. Apologie pour les Chrestiens de France de la Religion Evangelique ou reformee, fondee sur la S. escriture & approuvee par la raison, & par les anciens canons au Roy de Navarre. Par Innocent Gentillet Jurisconsulte Dauphinois. 1588. V

X.   Polemici.

137. Du maniement & conduite de l'art & faicts militaires. faict en Italien, par M. Bernard Rocque, Placentin, & mis en françois, par Françoys de Belleforest 4. A Paris. 1571. A

138. Des entreprises & ruses de guerre, & des fautes qui par fois surviennent es progrez & execution d'icelles, &c. 4. A Paris. 1571. A

139. Les discours de paix et de guerre de M. Nicolas Machiavel. A

140. Harangues militaires & concions de Princes, Capitaines, Ambassadeurs & autres manians tant la guerre que les affaires d'estat. fol. A Paris. 1573. V

141. Missive de tresillustre prince, Henry, prince de Condé, Duc de Bourbon, &c. Envoyee à tresillustre Prince Jean Casimir Conte Palatin du Rhin, Duc de Baviere, &c. Escritee de Strasbourg. 8. 1575. & 1577. V

142. Reconciliation claire & facile sur la question tant de fois faite de la prise des armes par les inferieurs. 16. Imprimé à Reins par Jean Mouchar. 1577. A

143. Le Tocsain, contre les Massacreurs & auteurs de confusions en France, addressé à tous les princes Chrestiens. 8. A Reins de l'Imprimerie de Jean Martin. 1577. A

144. Lettres interceptes de quelques Patriots masquez. 4. A Anvers 1580. A

145. Le vray but ou doivent tendre tous gens de guerre qui ayment honneur, auquel est traité du Butin, & droit usage d'icleluy. 8. 1587. A

146. Discours politiques & militaires du sieur de la Noue, recuillis & mis en lumiere par le Sieur de Fresnes. A Basle, pour François le Fevre. 16. 1591. V

147. Discours politiques & militaires du Sieur de la Noue, recuillis & mis en lumiere par le Sieur du Fresnes, & dediez au Roy treschrestien Henry IIII. Derniere edition enrichie de deux Indices, dont le premier est des sommaires & argumens sur chacun discours. Le second des choses plus notables contenues en toute l'oeuvre. A Basle 16. 1591. A

XI.   Architecturae militaris.

148. Discours sur pleusieurs points de l'Architecture de guerre concernans les fortifications tant anciennes que modernes, Ensemble le moyen de bastir & fortifier une place delaquelle les murailles ne

pourront estre aucunement endommagées de lartilerie. Par M. Autelie de Pasino Ferrarois. 4. à Anvers. 1579. V

149. Discours sur le faict de fortifications du Seig. Charles Tetti. ausquels est amplement declaré, quelle doit estre l'assiete d'une forteresse, la forme, lenceinte, les fossez, bolevarts, citadelles, & autres choses concernantes ledit faict, avec les figures de chacune d'icelles, nouvellement mis en françois, reueu, corrigé, & augmenté. A Lyon par Barthelemi Vincent. 4. 1589. V

XII. Historici.

150. Les vies des hommes illustres, Grecs & Romains comparees l'une avec l'autre par Plutarque de Cheronce translatees premierement de Grec en françois par M. Jaques Aymot lors Abbé de Bellozane, & depuis en ceste troisieme edition reveues & corrigees en infinis passages, &c. à Paris par Vascosan. 8. 1568. A

151. Chronique abbregee des Rois de France, & d'autres illustres hommes. 8. Lugduni 1570. V

152. Memoire de la troisieme guerre civile, & des derniers troubles de France. 8. 1570. V

153. Les epistres dorees, & discours salutaires de don Antoine de Geuare, Evesque de Mondonedo, prescheur & Chroniqueur de l'Empereur Charles cinquiesme, traduites d'Espagnol en françoys par le Sieur de Guttery. Item, ensemble la revolte que les espagnols firent contre leur jeune prince l'an 1520. & l'issue d'icelle, avec un traité des travaux & privileges des galeres, le tout du mesme autheur. Traduit nouvellement d'Italien en françois. A Paris par Jean Reuelle. 8. 1570. A

154. Les memoires de Messire Martin du Bellay seigneur de Langey, contenans le discours de plusieurs choses advenues au Royaume de france, depuis l'an 1513. jusques au temps du Roy françois premier, ausquels l'autheur a inseré trois livres, & quelques fragmens des Ogdoades de Messire Guillaume du Bellay, &c. Parisiis fol. 1571. V

155. De l'estat & succez des affaires de France. Ensemble une histoire sommaire des seigneurs Contes, & Ducs d'Anjou. Par Bernard de Girard. 8, A Paris 1571. A

156. L'histoire des neuf roys Charles de France. par Françoys de Belleforest Commingeois. fol. A Paris 1571. A

157. Les memoires de M. Martin du Bellay seigneur de Langey. 8. A Paris 1571. A

158. Les Chroniques & annales de Flandres, contenantes les heroiques & tresvictorieux exploits des Forestiers, & Contes de Flandres, depuis l'an de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ vj. & xx. jusques à l'an 1476. composees par M. Pierre Doudegherst. 4. à Anvers apud Christoph. Plantinum 1572. V

159. Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet gentil'homme jadis demeurant à Cambray en Cambresis in fol. à Paris 1572. V

160. La vraye & entiere histoire de ces derniers troubles advenus tant en France, qu'en Flandres, & pays circumvoisins, comprinse en dix livres. Dediee à la noblesse de France. 8. A Coulogne. 1572. V

161. Histoire de nostre temps, contenant un recueil des choses memorables passees & publiees pour le faict de la religion, & estat de la france depuis l'edict de pacification du 23. jour de Mars 1568 jusques au jour present. 8. 1572. V

162. L'Histoire universelle du monde, contenant lentiere description, & situation des quatre parties de la terre. in 4. Imprimé à Paris. 1572. V

163. Discours modernes, & facetieux des faits advenus en divers pays pendant les guerres civiles en France. 16. A Lyon 1572. A

164. L'Heptameron ou histoires des amans fortunés des nouvelles de tresillustres & tresexcellent Princesse, Marguerite de Valois Royne de Navarre. 16. A Lyon 1573. A

165. Le printemps d'yver contenant cinq histoires, discoureues par cinq journees en une noble compagnie, au chasteau du printemps par Jaques Yver. 16. A Paris. 1573. A

166. Histoire memorable de la ville de Sancerre. 8. 1574. V

167. Les vies des hommes illustres Grecs & Romains, comparees l'une avec l'autre par Plutarque de Cheronce. Translatees de Grec en François par Messire Jaques Amyot lors Abbé de Bellozane. fol. A Lausanne par Françoys le Preux 1574. V

168. Discours du massacre de ceux de la religion reformee, faict à Lyon par les Catoliques Romain, &c 8. 1574. V

169. Pourparler faict à la Rochelle par monsieur le mareschal de Cosse, &c. 16. 1574. V

170. De la vicissitude ou verité des choses en l'univers, & concurrence des armes, & des lettres, par les premiers & plus illustres natios du monde, depuis le temps ou a commencé la civilité, & memoire humaine, jusques a present. fol. A Paris chez Pierre l'hulier, rue Sainct Jaques à l'Olivier. 1575. V

171. Alliances genealogiques des Rois & princes de Gaule. Par Claude Paradin. in fol. A Lyon 1561. & 1575. A

172. La legende de Charles Cardinal de Lorraine, & de ses freres & de la maison de Guise, descritte en trois livres, par Françoys de l'Isle. 8. A Reins 1576. A

173. L'Histoire de l'estat de France, tant de la Republique que de la Religion sous le regne de François xj. 8. 1576. A

174. Memoires de l'estat de France soubz Charles neufviesme: second volume in octavo, 1576. A

175. Memoires de l'estat de France soubz Charles neufuiesme troisieme volume. 8. 1576. A

176. Memoires de l'estat de France soubz Charles neufuiesme, reduits en trois volumes chacun desquels a un indice des principales matieres y contenues, premier volume. A Meidelburg par Henry Wolf. 8. 1576. A

177. L'Histoire de l'estat de France, tant de la Republique que de la Religion. soubz le regne de Françoys xj. 8. imprimee 1576. & 1577. V

178. L'Histoire de France, par Bernard de Girard, seigneur du Haillan, historiographe de France. Tome premier & tome second. 8. par Pierre de S. André. 1577. V

179. Les diverses leçons de Pierre Messie, avec trois dialogues dudict autheur, contenans veritables & memorables histoires, mises en françois par Claude Gruget Parisien. in octavo. A Lyon 1577. A

180. Recueil des choses jour par jour advenues en l'armee conduite d'Alemagne en France, par Monsieur le prince de Condé. pour le restablissement de l'estat du Royaume, & nommeément pour la Religion, commençant au mois d'Octobre 1575. & finissant au mois de May suivant, que la paix, non paix fut faite, & publiee à Etigny pres Sens. 8. 1577. A

181. Histoire des guerres d'Italie, escritte en Italien par M. Françoys Guiciardin, gentil'homme Florentin Docteur és loix, & traduite en françois par Jerosme Chomedey, gentil'homme & conseiller de la ville de Paris. 8. A Geneve par Pierre de Sainct André. 1577. A

182. Discours veritables des choses passees és pays bas de Flandres, depuis la venue du Seigneur don Jean d'Austruce. in 8. A Lyon 1578. A

183. Histoire de Fl. Josephe sacrificateur Hebrieu, mise en françois. Reveue sur le grec, & illustree de chronologie, figures, annotations, & tables, tant des chapitres, que des principales matieres. P. D. Gil. Genebrad. in fol. A Paris. 1578. A

184. L'Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil autrement dit

Amerique. Le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Jean de Lery natif de Margelle, terre de sainct Seneau Duché de Bourgogne. 8. A Geneve pour Antoine Chuppin. 1578. A

185. Les grandes Annales & histoire generale de France des la venue des Francs en Gaule jusques au regne du Roy treschrestien Henry III. par Françoys de Belleforest Comingeois. In fol. à Paris 1579. V

186. Sommaire Annotation des choses plus memorables advenues de jour a autre és xvij. provinces des pays bas des l'an lxvj. jusques au premier jour de l'an lxxix. 8. à Anvers 1579. V

187. Histoires, disputes & discours, des illusions & impostures des diables, des magiciens infames, sorcieres & empoisonneurs des ensorcelez & demoniaques, & de la gairison d'iceux. Item de la punition que meritent les magiciens, les empoisonneurs, & les sorcieres. Le tout comprins en six livres par Jean Wier medecin du Duc de Cleves. 8. par Jaques Chouet 1579. V

188. Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises reformees au Royaume de France, en laquelle est descritte au vray la renaissance & accroissment d'icelle depuis l'an 1521. jusques en l'annee 63. leur reiglement ou discipline, Synodes persecutions tant generales que particulieres, noms & labeurs de ceux qui ont heureusement travaillé, villes & lieux, ou elles ont esté dressees, avec le discours des premiere troubles ou guerres civiles, desquelles la vraye cause est aussi declaree. 8. à Anvers 1580. V

189. Recueil des Rois de France, leur Couronne & maison ensemble les rangs des grands de France, par Jean du Tillet, sieur de la Bussiere, Protenotaire & secretaire du Roy, Greffier de son Parlement. in fol. A Paris 1580. V

190. Les Genealogies & anciennes descentes des Forestiers & Contes de Flandres, avec brieves descriptions de leurs vies & pestes, le tout recuilli des plus veritables, approuvees & anciennes Chroniques, & annales qui se trouvent. par Corneille Marti Zelandois. Et ornees de pourtraits, figures & habits, selon les façons & guises de leurs temps, ainsi quelles ont esté trouvees és plus anciens tableaux, par Pierre Balthasar, & par luymesme mise en lumiere. fol. à Anvers 1580. A

191. Vraye narration de ce qui est traité avec ceux de Malines tant par escrit, que verbalement de la part de l'Archiduc Matthias gouverneur general du pais bas. Ensemble de ceux de la ville d'Anvers 1580. A

192. Histoire de Portugal, comprinse en vingt livres, dont les douze

premiers sont traduits du latin de Jerosme Osorius, &c. nouvelle-
ment mise en françois par S.G.S. Avec un discours du fruit qu'on
peut recuillir de la lecture de ceste histoire, & ample Indice des
matieres principales & contenues. De l'imprimerie de François
Estienne, pour Ant. Chuppin. fol. 1581. A

193. L'Estat de l'Eglise, avec le discours des Temps, depuis les Apostres
jusques à present. chez Eustache Vignon. 8. 1581. A

194. L'Estat de la Religion, & Republique du peuple Judaique depuis
le retour de lexil de Babilone jusques au dernier sacagement de
Jerusalem. Par Paul Eber ministre de Witemberg. chez Eustache
Vignon. 8. 1581. A

195. L'Histoire de France, enrichie des plus notables occurences sur-
venues és provinces de l'Europe, & pays voisins, soit en paix, soit
en guerre, tant pour le fait seculier, qu'Ecclesiastique depuis l'an
1550. jusques à ces temps, de l'imprimerie de Abraham H. fol.
1581. A

196. L'Histoire de France depuis l'an 1580. jusques à ces temps. 8.
1582. V

197. Hexameron, ou six journees contenans plusieurs doctes discours sur
aucuns points difficiles ou diverses sciences, avec maintes histoires
notables, & non encores ouies. Faict en Espagnol par Antoine de
Torquemade, & mis en françois par Gabriel Chappuis Tourangeau.
A Lyon par Antoine de Hersy. 8. 1581. & 1582. V

198. Histoire de la confession d'Ausbourg recuillie par le D. David
Chrytens professeur des sainctes lettres en l'université de Restoc,
& nouvellement mise en françois par Luc le Cop. 4. A Anvers
chez Arnauld Comux 1582. A

199. Histoire des troubles & guerres civiles du pays bas, autrement dit la
Flandre, contenant l'origine & progrez d'icelle, les stratagemes de
guerre, oppugnations & expugnations des villes & forteresses, aussi
la barbare tyrannie, & cruauté de L'Espagnol, & des Espagnolisez.
in octavo. le tout departi en quatre livres 1582. A

200. Histoire Romaine de Tite Live Padoan. Assavoir les trente-cinq
livres, restans de tout l'oeuvres contenue de la fondation de Rome
jusques au temps d'Auguste, nouvellement traduits en françois par
Antoine de la Faye, A Geneve de l'Imprimerie de Jacob Soer 8.
1582. V

201. Histoire de la guerre civile du pays de Flandres. A Lyon par Jean
Stratius 1583. A

202. Les Chroniques & Annales de France, de l'origine des François & leurs venues és Gaules. Augmentees & continuees en ceste edition depuis le Roy Charles ix. jusques au Roy treschrestien de France & de Pologne Henry III. a present reignant par G. Chappuis. à Paris chez Jean Cavellat. fol. 1585 & 1587. V

203. Histoire veritable des choses les plus signalees & memorables qui se sont passees en la ville de Bruges, & presques par toute la Flandre, soubz le gouvernement de tresillustre Prince Charles de Croy prince de Chimay. &c. 8. 1588. V

204. Le second recueil contenant les choses memorables advenues soubz la ligue. 8. 1590. V

205. Le premier recueil, contenant les choses memorables advenues soubz la ligue, tant en la France, Angleterre, qu'autres lieux. 8. 1590. V

206. Declaration veritable de la bataille faicte à Juri la chaussee le 14 de Mars, & de la victoire obtenue par sa Majesté Henry IIII. Roy de Franc & Navarre, sur ceux de la ligue. Ensemble les articles de la grace que sa Majesté à faicte aux Suisses du parti contraire. Francofurti apud Joannem Wechelum in 4. 1590. V

207. Merveilleux & estrange rapport, toutesfois fidele, des comoditez qui se trouvent en Virginia, des façons des naturels habitans d'icelle laquelle a esté nouvellement descouverte par les Anglois que Messire Richart Grinvile chevalier y mena en Colonie l'an 1585. a la charge principale de Messire Valter Raleigh Chevalier superintendant des mines d'estain, favorisé par la Royne d'Angleterre, & authorisé par ses lettres patentes. Par Thomas Hariot serviteur dudict Messire Valter l'un de ceux de ladite Colonie, & qui a esté employé a la descouvrir. chez Jean Wechel, à Francfort 1590. V

208. Discours tresveritable, des horribles meutres & massacres commis & perpetrez de sang froid par les troupes du Duc de Savoye par les pauvres paysans du balliage de Ges & mandement de Gaillart & Tervy, pres de Geneve, sans aucune exception d'aage ou sexe, tant hommes, femmes qu'enfans, masles & femelles. in octavo. Imprimé dans Langres. par Jean le Court. 1590. A

209. L'entreprise de la ligue contre l'estat & couronne de France, avec tout ce qui s'est faict & passé contre ladite ligue jusques à la bataille de Mante, & à la victoire que Dieu en a donnee à Henry de Bourbon Roy de France & de Navarre, & autres qu'il a eu contre

ladite ligue depuis son advenement jusques à la Couronne, ayant renversé tous les complots d'icelle, jusques auiourdhuy. Imprimé à Montauban par Jean de Tours, le 15. de Juillet in 8. 1590 A

210. Sommaire description de la France, Allemagne, Italie, & Espagne, avec la guide des chemins pour aller & venir par les provinces, & aux villes plus renommees de ces quatre regions. Imprimé par Jacob Stoer in 16. 1591. A

211. Les Roys & Ducs d'Austrasie de Nicolas Clement traduits en François par François Guibaudet Dijonnois. Col. 4. 1592. V

XIII. Poetici.

212. Les emblemes de maistre André Alciat. 8. Parisijs 1570. V

213. D'amour furieux, Rolland furieux, composé en rithme Tuscane par Messire Loys Arioste. 8. A Paris 1572. V

214. L'Eneide de Virgile prince des poetes latins, translaté de latin en françois & nouvellement reveue & corrigee, par Louys des Masures. Avec les carmes latins correspondans verset par verset 1573. V

215. Roland Furieux, mis en françois de l'Italien de Messire Loys Arioste noble Ferrarois. 8. A Lyon par Barthelemi Honorat. 1577. A

216. Discours de la Comete apparue à Lausanne le 8. jour de Novembre 1577. à six heures du soir. fait en vers françois par J. R. de Digne en Provence. 4. A Lausanne 1578. A

217. La sepmaine ou Creation du monde de G. de Salluste Seigneur de Bartas. 4. A Paris 1578. A

218. Les oeuvres de mesdames des Roches de poetiers mere & fille. 4. A Paris 1579. V

219. Le miroir du monde, reduit premierement en rithme Brabanconne par M. P. Heyns, & maintenant tourné en prose françoise. Non moins duisant par chemin à tous voyagers curieux que le Theatre d'Abraham Ortelius. 4. A Anvers 1579. V

220. Tragedie nouvelle appellee Pompee. En laquelle se voit la mort d'un grand seigneur, faicte par une malheureuse trahison. 4. Lausannae 1579. A

221. Clement Marot. A Lyon par Jean de Tournes imprimeur du Roy. 16. 1588. A

222. La sepmaine ou creation du monde de Guillaume de Salluste seigneur du Bartas, reveue, augmentee & embellie de divers passages par l'autheur mesme. Pour Jaques Chouet. 12. 1588. A

223. Les tragedies de Robert Garnier conseiller du Roy lieutenant general criminel, au siege Presidial & seneschaussee du Maine, au Roy de France, & de Pologne. A Thoulouse par Pierre lagourt. 16. 1588. A

224. La muse guerriere en deux livres de divers Poemes sur pleusieus ingenieux & plaisans argumens avec les hymnes & Cantiques de l'hermitage. A Rouan par Joachim Bontemps. in 16. 1590. A

225. La premiere & seconde sepmaine de Guillaume de Saluste seigneur du Bartas. A Heidelberg in 8. 1591. A

226. Pour plus grand enrichissement de cest oeuuvre y ont esté adjoustez les vers françois des Evesques de Meaux, & de Cambray, & les latins de N. de Clemenges docteur en Theologie, sur la grand disparité de la vie rustique avec celle de la Cour. Par Jean de Tournes. 16. 1591. A

227. Larmes & chants funebres de Joseph du Chesne & sieur de la Violette, sur les tombeaux de deux tresillustres princes du S. Empire, & de trois rares fleurs de nostre France, & perles precieuses de nostre temps. 4. 1592. V

228. La premiere & seconde sepmaine de Guillaume de Saluste, S. du Bartas 1592. V

229. Sonnets & Epigrammes de Jean le Poli I.C. Liegeois: puis deux discours latins, l'un de la preexcellence du Royaume de France avec une deploration de son miserable estat d'aujourdhuy: l'autre sur l'excellence de la cité de Liege; ensemble une exhortation aux princes Chrestiens pour la guerre contre les infidelles. A Liege. 4. 1592. A

XIV. Arithmetici.

230. L'Arithmetique de Simon Stevin de Bruges contenant les computations des nobles Arithmetiques ou vulgaires. Aussi l'Algebre avec les equations de cinq quantitez. 8. A Leyde Chr. Plant. 1585. A

231. L'Arithmetique, & Algebre de Simon Stevin. Antwerpiae. 8. 1585. A

232. La pratique Arithmetique de Simon Stevin de Bruges. 8. A Leyde. en l'Imprimerie de Chr. Plant. 1585. A

XV. Musici.

233. Chansons & madrigales à quatre parties, composees par M. Jean de Castro. 4. Lovanij 1570. V.

234. Septiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties, plusieurs autres nouvelles chansons augmenté. 4. Lovanij 1570. A

235. Livre cinquiesme des chansons nouvelles a cinq partes avec deux dialogues: a 8. d'Orlande de Lassus. Lovanij. 4. 1572. V

236. L'excellence des chansons musicales, composees par M. Jaques Arcadet. 4. A Lyon. 1572. A

237. Livre des meslanges contenant un recueil de chansons a 4 parties, choisy de plusieurs excellens autheurs de nostre temps, par Jean Castro musicien, mis en ordre convenable, suivant leurs tons. 4. A Anvers chez Jean Bellere, &c. 1575. V

238. La fleur des chansons a trois parties, contenant un recueil produit de la divine musique de Jean Castro. imprimé à Louvain 1574. & 1575. V

239. Des chansons reduites en tablature de Lut, a deux, trois & quatre parties. 4. Lovanij. 1575 & 1576. V

240. La fleur des chansons, des deux plus excellens musiciens de nostre temps, assavoir de M. Orlande de Lassus, & de M. Claude Goudimel. Celles d'Orlande ont esté mises en lumiere. 1574 & 1576. V. 4 Lugduni

241. Sonnets de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en musique a cinq, six & sept parties par M. Philippe de Monte. 4. 1575. Louvanij & 1576. V

242. Thresor de musique d'Orlande di Lassus contenant 7. chansons a 4. 5 & 6 parties. 8. 1576. A

243. Livre septieme des chansons a quatre parties nouvellement recor-rigé & augmenté de plusieurs chansons, non imprimees auparavant, accommodees tant aux instrumens, comme à la voix, toutes mises en ordre convenable selon leurs tons. 4. A Louvain. 1576. A

244. Premier livre du meslange des Pseaumes & cantiques a trois parties, recuillis de la musique d'Orlande de Lassus, & autres excellens musiciens de nostre temps. 8. 1577. V

245. Chansons, odes & sonnets de Pierre Ronsard mises en musique a quatre, cinq & huict parties. par Jean de Castro. 4. Louvain. 1576 & 1577. V

246. Livre septieme des chansons a quatre parties, nouvellement recor-rigé & augmenté de plusieurs chansons non imprimees auparavant. &c. Imprimé à Anvers chez Jean de Bellere 1580. & 1582. V

247. Chansons nouvelles a trois parties de Jean Castro, 4. A Anvers, chez Jean Bellere. 1582. A

248. Cent vingt & six quatrains du sieur de Pibrac conseiller du conseil privé du Roy, & presidant à Paris de nouveau mis en musique, a

deux, trois, quatre, cinq & six parties. par Paschal de L'Estocart. 4. A Lyon 1582. A

249. Livre des meslanges de C. le jeune a six parties. in 4. A Anvers. Christoph. Plant. 1585. A

250. Livre de chansons a cinq parties, convenable tant à la voix, comme à toute sorte d'instrumens, avec une pastorelle a vij. en forme de dialogue. le tout nouvellement composé par M. Jean de Castro. Superius. A Anvers chez Pierre Phalese, & chez Jean Bellere in 4. 1586. A

251. L'excellence des chansons musicales composees par M. Jaques Arcadet, tant propres à la voix qu'aux instrumens, par Jean de Tournes, imprimeur du Roy à Lyon 4. 1587. A

252. Instruction methodique & fort facile pour apprendre la musique practique, reveue & corrigee en divers endroits par Corneille de Monfort, dict de Glockland, gentilhomme Escossois, excellent musicien. par Jean de Tournes. A Lyon 1587. A

253. Chansons d'André Pevernage, maistre de la chappelle de l'eglise cathedrale d'Anvers, livre premier contenant chansons spirituelles a cinq parties. A Anvers chez Christoph. Plantin. 1589. V

254. Livre second & troisieme des chansons d'André Pevernage maistre de la chappelle de l'eglise Cathedrale d'Anvers, a cinq parties. in 4. A Anvers de l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin 1590. A

255. Livre quatrieme des chansons d'André Pavernage, maistre de la chappelle de l'eglise Cathedrale d'Anvers. 4. 1591. V

256. Sonnets avec une chanson, contenant neuf parties, l'une suivant l'autre, le tout a deux parties convenables à la voix, comme aux instrumens, nouvellement mis en musique par M. Jean de Castro. A Anvers chez Pierre Phalese, & chez Jean Bellere. 4. 1592. V

257. Trois odes contenant chacune delles douze parties, l'une suivant l'autre, le tout mis en musique a quatre parties par Jean de Castro. A Donay, de l'Imprimerie de Jean Bogart. 4. 1592. V

XVI. Cosmographici.

258. La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde, auteur en partie Munster, mais beaucoup plus augmentee, ornee & enrichie par Françoys de Belleforest, &c. A Paris 1575. A

259. Cosmographie ou description des quatre parties du monde de Pierre Apian & Gemma Frison. 4. A Anvers chez Jean Bellere 1582. A

XVII. Tipocosmici & topographici.

260. Miroir du Monde contenant les cartes de tour le Monde. Antwerpiae apud Christoph. Plantinum. 4. 1583. V

261. Epitome du theatre du monde d'Abraham Ortelius auquel se representent par figures & characters la vraye situation & proprieté de la terre universelle. in 4. Antwerpiae 1589. V

262. Le theatre du monde. fol. V

263. Description des pays bas reueue & augmentee plus de la moitié par l'auteur mesme avec toutes les cartes geographiques des dits pays, & plusieurs pourtraits des villes, tirees au naturel. de l'Imprimerie de Christoph. Plantin. 1582. V

XVIII. Astronomici.

XIX. Grammatici & Dictionarij.

264. Les fondemens de la langue françoise, composee en faveur des Allemans par Gerard de Vivre, maistre d'Escole. Imprimé à Coulogne, in quarto. 1574. A

265. Synonimes. C'est a dire plusieurs propos, propres tant en escrivant qu'en parlant, recueillis en François & Allemand, par Gerard de Vivre, 8. 1574. A

266. Grammaire de Pierre de la Ramee, lecteur du Roy en l'université de Paris, à la Royne mere du Roy. 8. A Paris 1572. V

267. Grammatica Italica, & Gallica, de Scipione Lentulo Neapol. conscripta. Francof. Wech. in 8. 1591. V

268. Colloques ou dialogues avec un dictionaire en six langues, Flamend, Anglois, Allemand, François, Espagnol & Italien. 16. à Anvers 1579 A.

269. Dittionario volgare & francese, & reciprocamente francese & volgare, novamente posto in luce da M. Gioantonio Felis. 8. Parigi appresso Nicolo Niuello 1584. V

270. Dictionarium cum colloquijs aliquot quatuor linguarum Latinae, Germanicae, Gallicae, & Italicae, in 16. 1591. V

XX. Miscellanei distincti.

Nauticae artis.

271. Le voyage de Messire Françoys Drak Chevalier, aux Indes Occidentales l'an 1585, auquel les villes de S. Lago S. Domingo S. Augustino, & Cartagena, ont esté prises avec cartes Geographiques de tout. 1588. & 1589. V

272. Miroir de la navigation de la mer Occidentale & Orientale pratiqué & assemblé par Lucas fils de Jean Chartier divisé en deux parties, & de nouveau aufmenté d'une historiale description des proprietez & origine de chacune province, par Richart Slotboom. in fol. à Anvers par Jean Bellere 1591. A

XXI. Monomachiae.

273. Chrestienne confutation du point d'honneur, sur lequel la noblesse fonde aujourdhuy ses monomachies, & querelles par R.P.C. de Cheffontaine Archevesque de Cesaree n'agueres ministre general de tout l'ordre de Sainct François. Dediee à treshaut & puissant seigneur Pierre de Boiseon Seigneur de Coetinisan. Reveu corrigé & augmenté, outre les precedentes editions. octavo. imprimé à Paris en l'Imprimerie de Arnold Sittart 1586. V

XXII. Agriculture.

274. L'Agriculture & maison rustique de H. Charles Estienne D. en medecine, &c. 4. à Paris 1572. V

XXIII. Equestris disciplinae.

275. Traité de la maniere de bien emboucher, manier, & percer les chevaux, avec les figures des mors de bride, tous & manimens & fers qui y sont propres, faict en langage Italien, par le Sieur Cesar Fiaschi gentilhomme Ferrarois, & n'agueres tourné en françois. 4. A Paris. 1578 & 1592. V

XXIV. De nobilitate & vita aulica.

276. Le miroir des Courtisans, ou sont introduites deux courtisanes, par l'une desquelles se descouvrent plusieurs tours, fraudes & trahisons qui journellement se commettent. Fait en dialogue par Pierre Aretin. 8. A Lyon 1580. V

277. Mespris de la Cour, & louage de la vie rustique par D. Antoyne de Guevarre en Espagnol François & Italien, par Joan de Tournes 16. 1591. & 1592. V

XXV. Funeralia.

278. Oraison funebre, faite & prononcee aux Exeques & funeralles de M. Madame d'Austriche douairiere de Baviere, &c. par Maistre George Tourin Chanoine & Escolatre de ladite Eglise. 4. 1591. V

279. Oraison funebre prononcee en l'Eglise Cathedrale de Liege aux obseques de feu Madame M. Anne d'Austriche douairiere des deux Bavieres, en presence de M. l'Electeur de Coulogne & Prince de Liege son filz, par M. George Thourin docteur en Theologie, chanoine theologal & escolastre en ladite Eglise. 4. A Liege 1591. A

XXVI. De ludis & choreis.

280. Briefve remonstrance sur le jeu de hazard. 8. 1574. A

281. Traité des danses, auquel est amplement resolue la question assavoir s'il est permit aux Chrestiens de danser. 8. 1579. A

XXVII. De esculentis & poculentis.

XXVIII. De re amatoria & lata.

282. Le labirinthe d'amour de M. Jean Boccace. à Paris, decimosexto, 1571. A

283. Les heures de recreation, & apres disnees de Louys Guiciardin citoyen & gentilhomme Florentin in decimosexto. A Paris 1571. A

284. Les facecieuses nuicts du seigneur Jean Françoys Straparole. Avec les fables & enigmes, racontees par deux jeunes gentilshommes, & dix damoiselles. 16. A Paris. 1573 A

285. Les comptes du monde adventureux. par A.D.S.D. 16. A Paris 1573. A

286. Le decameron de maistre Jean Bocace Florentin, traduit de Italien en François, par maistre Antoine Maçon, conseiller du Roy, &c. 16. A Paris A

287. Propos amoureux contenans les discours des amours & mariage du seigneur Clitophant, & damoiselle Leusippe. 16. imprimé à Lyon 1572. par Benoist Rigaud, & 1577. V

288. Lettres amoureuses de Messer Girolam Parabosque avec quelques autres adioustees de nouveau à la fin: reduites de l'Italien en vulgaire François, par Hubert Philippe de Villiers. 16. A Lyon 1574 & 1577. V

289. Comptes amoreux par Madame Jeane Flore touchant la punition de ceux qui contemnent & mesprisent le vray amour. 16. A Lyon 1574. par Benoist Rigaud, & 1577. V

290. Les nouvelles recreations & joyeux devis, de feu Bonaventure des Periers, valet de chambre de la Royne de Navarre. 16. A Lyon par Benoist Rigaud 1577. V

291. Lettres missives familieres entremeslees de certaines confabulations non moins utiles que recreatives. Ensemble deux livres de l'utilité du train de marchandise. le tout composé par Gerard de Vivre, à Coulogne chez Gerard Grevenbruck in 8. 1591. A

XXIX. De Terramotu.

292. Discours du tremblement de terre en forme de dialogue, pris de l'Italien de Luccio Maggio gentilhomme Boulonnois. à Paris 1575. A

XXX. Variae & eruditae lectionis.

293. Luc Apulee de l'asne doré xj. livres traduit en François par Jean Louneau d'Orleans. A Lyon par Jean Temporal. decimosexto. 1571. V

294. De la vicissitude ou varieté des choses en l'univers, & concurrence des armes & des lettres, par les premieres & plus illustres nations du monde, depuis le temps, ou a commencé la civilité, & memoire humaine jusques a present. Plus s'il est vray de ne se dire Rien, qui n'ait esté dict auparavant, & quil convient par propres memoires augmenter la doctrine des anciens, sans s'arrester seulement aux versions, expositions, corrections & abregez de leurs escrits. par Loys le Roy, dict Regius. in fol. A Paris 1577. V

295. Vingt & cinq fables des animaux, vray miroir exemplaire par lequel toute personne raisonnable pourra voir & comprendre avec plaisir & contentement d'esprit, la conformité, & vraye similitude de la personne ignorante, vivante selon les sensualitez charnelles, aux animaux & bestes brutes. Composé & mis en luminere par Estienne Perret Citoyen d'Anvers. in fol. A Anvers par Christophle Plantin 1578. A

296. Les colloques de Maturin Cordier en latin & en françois. 8. 1579. A

297. Essais de Messire Michel S. de montagne Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, & gentilhomme ordinaire de sa chambre. A Bourdeaux par S. Millanges imprimeur ordinaire du Roy. 8. 1581. A

298. La joyeuse & magnifique entrée de Monseigneur Françoys de France frere unique du Roy, par la grace de Dieu Duc de Brabant, d'Anjou, d'Alençon, Berri, &c. & en sa tresrenomme ville d'Anvers. à Anvers 1582. A
299. Les oeuvres françoises de Jean de la Jessee 4. Antverpiae apud Christophorum Plantinum 1583. V
300. La Bibliotheque d'Antoine du Verdier S. du Vauprivas. A Lyon par Barthelemy Honorat fol. 1586 A
301. Discours & advertissemens notables faicts par le Lac Leman aux villes & jeux circumvoisins, escrit par A.Z. 1588. V
302. Academie des animaux par Gabriel Meurier. 1589. V
303. Des deux fontaines dites de Creysbach, & de Sainct Prier. A Strasbourg. Antoine Bertram. in 8. 1590 A
304. L'introduction ou traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes: ou Traité preparatif a l'Apolog. pour Herodote composee en latin par Henry Estienne, reueu & corrigé de nouveau avec deux tables. A Lyon par Benoist Rigaud. 8. 1591. & 1592. V

FINIS

IMPRIME A FRANCFORT SVR LE MAINE, PAR Nicolas Bassé. 1592.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EMDEN AS A CENTRE OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY
BOOK TRADE: A CATALOGUE OF THE BOOKSELLER
GASPAR STAPHORST

The importance of the north German port town of Emden as a cen-
tre of vernacular printing in the sixteenth century is now reasonably
well-known.[1] For a short period in the middle of the century, Emden
flourished as a principal publishing centre for Dutch evangelical litera-
ture, turning out Bibles, catechisms, and works of religious polemic for
the clandestine Calvinist churches in the Netherlands. A total of over
two hundred editions emanating from Emden presses have now been
identified.[2] As a well-known nest of heresy Emden remained throughout
this period a considerable thorn in the side of the Habsburg adminis-
tration of the Netherlands.

What remains less clear is how Emden functioned as a northern
outpost of the European book trade. Almost all of the books printed
in Emden were religious works, intended for clandestine import and
distribution in the Netherlands. The process of distribution and sales
mechanisms remain, necessarily, somewhat shadowy.[3] However, impor-
tant light can be shed on Emden's wider role as a centre of book sales
and distribution by the recent discovery of an unusual document: a

---

[1] See Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt* (Oxford 1992), ch. 4. Our knowl-
edge of the production of the Emden presses has been considerably refined in recent
years by the bibliographical researches of Paul Valkema Blouw. In particular his work
has demonstrated that several groups of anonymous evangelical works of a radical
character were printed not at Emden but at other places in the northern Netherlands or
beyond its borders. See particularly his 'Een onbekende doperse drukkerij in Friesland',
in: *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, 15 (1989), pp. 37–63; 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo,
1558–83', in: *Theatrum Orbis Librorum*, ed. Ton Croiset van Uchelen etc. (Utrecht 1989),
pp. 310–31; 'The Secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's Activities, 1562–7',
in: *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83–127.
[2] Listed as an appendix to Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 252–311.
[3] A rare negotiation between an Emden bookseller and potential readers in the Dutch
Calvinist churches is reported in the letter of Gaspar van der Heyden to the church at
Emden, 17 Dec. 1555, reprinted in E. Meiners, *Oostvrieschlandts kerkelyke Geschiedenisse*,
2 vols. (Groningen 1738–9), vol. 1, pp. 365–70.

broadsheet catalogue of books offered for sale in 1567 by an Emden bookseller, Gaspar Staphorst (see illus.).[4]

Such documents are rare enough for this to be an exciting find in its own right. For Emden, where the wider context of book production and sales remains wholly unknown, it is quite unique. Its existence enables one, firstly, to piece together the career of an individual not previously recognized as an important participant in the Emden printing industry. Gaspar Staphorst was one of a number of booksellers active in Emden during this period. Inevitably printing, one of the growth industries in a town enjoying booming prosperity during this period, supported a number of auxiliary trades: bookbinders, booksellers, and merchant capitalists prepared to invest in the book trade. Quite possibly Staphorst, probably an immigrant from Germany, was one of the latter. He is first recorded in Emden in 1562, when he appears in the Emden tax lists as 'Jasper Bokebinder' under two separate addresses.[5] In 1570, he registered a contract with his children in the Emden contract register.[6] The catalogue printed here dates from a period in between, 1567, a date of some importance in both the history of the Netherlands revolt and the Emden book trade.[7] It is immediately clear, both from its scope and contents, that Staphorst was the owner of a flourishing business. The catalogue lists some 176 editions offered for sale at his shop, a very considerable stock given the limited size of the local market. Furthermore, these are strikingly not, on the whole, the small, vernacular books which were the typical product of Emden's own presses. Over 60 percent of the titles advertised here were Latin works, many of them high quality folios of considerable size and cost.

The rest of this article will be devoted to a closer examination of the contents of the list, attempting to establish the origin of the books offered for sale. This will make possible some more general reflections on Emden's role in the European book trade at this date, and some

---

[4] London, Public Record Office, SP 70/95/1892. Noted in the *Calendar of State Papers Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1566–1568* (London 1871), p. 387.

[5] See Karl Ecke, *Ein Emder Addreßbuch aus den Jahren 1562/63* [= *Quellen und Forschungen zur Ostfriesischen Familien- and Wappenkunde, Beiheft* 10] (Aurich 1978), Nos. 1143, 1172.

[6] Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Aurich, Rep. 234/13, fos. 47–7v. I am grateful to Dr Martin Tielke, Director of the Ostfriesche Landschaft, for drawing my attention to this contract.

[7] For the reorganisation of the Emden printing industry following the death of Gellius Ctematius in 1566 see Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 138–40, 158, 208–9. For the general context of the Revolt, ibid., and Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London 1977), ch. 2.

Fig. 8.1   Staphorst's book catalogue

speculations as to the probable market for Staphorst's wares. Happily, since a large proportion of the list is made up of well-known Latin works, and since the catalogue contains obligingly full descriptions, it is usually fairly easy to match the titles listed with known books. Often a particular edition is clearly suggested: where this is not the case I have assumed that the edition offered in Emden is that closest in date to the publication of the catalogue.[8] Most titles and editions have been identified using standard bibliographies (British Library Catalogue, National Union Catalogue, Adams's list of foreign books in Cambridge libraries), bibliographies of individual authors (Bullinger), printers (Crespin, Froschauer) or printing towns (Geneva).[9] A large proportion of the remaining, more enigmatic titles were identified during a two week research trip to the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, making use of the unrivalled holding of Latin and vernacular German works in that collection. Of the remainder, Professor Francis Higman of the Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation in Geneva identified for me a number of the more elusive French books, and David Wright of Edinburgh University suggested a solution to a puzzling reference for a work by Bucer.[10] The final lacunae were mostly dealt with on a recent visit to the Newberry Library, Chicago, where a number of problem books were identified with the help of Dr Paul Gehl and the OCLC on-line inter-library catalogue search system. As a result almost all the titles listed here have now been identified, in the vast majority of cases with a particular edition, printer, and place of publication strongly suggested.

    The results of this survey are set out in the appendix, where an annotated version of the list is reproduced, and in the accompanying tables. The first, and most striking result is to demonstrate how few of the books Staphorst was offering for sale were actually printed in Emden. This is not particularly surprising: Emden was primarily a centre of Dutch language printing, and few of the titles listed by Staphorst fall into this category. For the most part his stock consists of high quality

---

[8] This assumption is at least partially justified by the fact that books are listed here which were published *for the first time* in either 1566 or 1567 (e.g. Nos. 26, 43, 92, 99). Given that in most cases the choice of the latest edition indicates a place of publication generally consistent with the evidence of the rest of the list, this working practice is unlikely to have introduced any significant distortion in the results.

[9] Listed, together with the abbreviations used here, at the beginning of the appendix.

[10] No. 16.

Latin editions, of the sort the Emden presses would have been loath to take on for a purely local market.[11] Instead, Staphorst seems to have built his stock by drawing heavily on the leading centres of Reformed printing in Switzerland: Basle, Zurich and Geneva dominate the list of printing centres represented in the Latin list.

Staphorst's shop clearly had excellent connections with the principal printers of Reformed theology in these towns. Much of his stock, including weighty folios, was of recent date, including editions hot off the press in 1567.[12] The leading printers of Basle and Zurich, Oporinus and Froschauer are both well represented in this list, together with a number of the major figures of the Geneva printing industry, such as Crespin, Estienne, and Courteau. The connections with Switzerland, though close, were not however exclusive. Staphorst also stocked books from major printing centres in Germany, such as Leipzig and Wittenberg in Saxony, and the Rhineland centres of Strasburg and Frankfurt.

This is an impressive, but by no means comprehensive list. Important centres of printing such as Venice, Antwerp, Paris and Louvain are either scarcely represented or entirely absent. The reason is that Staphorst's list consists entirely of Protestant, and overwhelmingly of Reformed theological works. Hence the dominant role of Geneva, Zurich and Basle, which still published most of the works of the leading Swiss reformers, such as Bullinger, Calvin, Beza, and Peter Martyr Vermigli. Staphorst offers a good selection of their most significant writings, together with important works by writers of the second generation. Works of Calvinist theology and exegesis dominate the list, but not to the exclusion of other writers: Lutheran scholars such as Johannes Brenz, Adam Siber, Flacius Illyricus and Hemmingius are also represented. In these cases the books on offer tend to be their longer works of scholarship, commentaries and the like, rather than short polemical writings.

Latin works make up some 60 percent of the titles listed, and dominate the list in terms of size and expense. The four vernacular groups (French, German, Italian and Dutch) offer a wider range of materials, though all still fundamentally of a religious nature. Among the French titles, Calvin's *Institutes*, folio Bibles and the works of Sleidan

---

[11] Of the 240 editions listed in Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), fewer than a dozen are Latin works, and all of these comparatively modest octavo or quarto books.

[12] Nos. 3, 15, 43, 46, 51, 57, 78, 92, 99.

nestle alongside contemporary polemical tracts. These latter are mostly small octavo works of recent origin, reflecting the polemical debates which accompanied the second phase of the religious wars in France. Almost all of these, along with the longer French works, emanated from Genevan presses. The same could be said of three of the small group of four Italian works on the list. The small group of Dutch books are quite predictable: a selection of the more substantial works published by Emden's own presses over the previous two years.

The German vernacular list presents rather more problems, since a number are not easily identifiable. But those that can be tied to particular editions reveal a range of contacts with important centres of German Protestant printing: Wittenberg, Leipzig, Frankfurt and Magdeburg. It is interesting in this context to note that Staphorst could offer for sale from his Emden shop books that could certainly not have been printed there. The general tone of church life in Emden was in some senses quite anti-Lutheran, a tendency which became more pro-nounced as the Reformed town government found itself increasingly at loggerheads with the Lutheran Count Edzard of East Friesland.[13] Within this context the output of the Emden presses was carefully controlled, and works of a partisan character published there were overwhelmingly Calvinist or Reformed in orientation. It is hard to imagine the Emden authorities permitting the publication, for instance, of the *Gegenbericht und verantwortung der Predicanten zu Franckfort*, a sharply polemical work put out by the Lutheran town ministers as part of their quarrel with the Reformed exile congregations in that town.[14]

The contents of this broadsheet catalogue are thus fairly easily iden-tified: but what was its purpose? What was the market that Staphorst has in mind when he went to the trouble and expense of drawing up his inventory? It is unlikely that it was for a local readership that such a stock would have been accumulated. Emden was a fast growing town, and there would certainly have been some demand for both Latin and vernacular literature. A large and mobile immigrant population brought to the town both capital and a substantial number of highly educated

---

[13] Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 219 ff. Menno Smid, *Ostfriesische Kirchengeschichte* (Pewsum 1974), pp. 204 ff.

[14] No. 156. Similarly among the Latin books, the *Sathanae stratagemata* of Jacobus Acontius (No. 94) would hardly have found favour with the Emden ministers. It is also somewhat incongruous to see the New Testament of Sebastian Castellio (No. 101) next to the works of his great adversary Theodore Beza.

people from the Netherlands, around whom there grew up an infrastructure of educational provision which was both serviceable and widely admired.[15] Even so, it is highly unlikely that the local market could have absorbed the range and quality of Latin works included in this list. Nor do the vernacular works listed here suggest Staphorst had a local clientele in mind. The resident population would have bought some of the Dutch works published locally, but a large proportion even of these were principally intended for export to the Netherlands. Meanwhile the readership for French books in Emden was comparatively small, and there is no record of an Italian community in the town at all.[16] Finally, a list aimed at the local inhabitants would surely have included books in Low German, published in Hamburg or Bremen, a category in fact notably absent from Staphorst's inventory.[17]

The elaborate nature of this catalogue, and indeed its presentation (with each language group set up in a different type), indicates a more ambitious purpose, a clue to which is probably suggested by the present location of this sole surviving copy: the State Papers Foreign Collection of London's Public Record Office. This collection is made up in the main of despatches sent back to England by English emissaries abroad. Unfortunately in the process of sorting over the years, printed books and papers like this present document have generally been separated from the manuscript despatches in which they were enclosed: there is nothing in the documents surrounding the broadsheet in its present location to suggest how it came into the collection. Nevertheless, its survival among these papers may indicate that Staphorst's principal purpose in printing up his catalogue was to develop his business as a supplier to the English market.

Such a hypothesis is consistent with the contents of the list. It would explain the presence of so many French books, for which there was not a large potential buying public in Emden, but certainly there would have been in London with its large French-speaking immigrant community.[18] It would make sense of the selection of German language books: for supplying Germany itself Emden would be a perverse choice, since the

[15] Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 153–4.

[16] Only one French book was definitely published in Emden during this period, a translation of Lasco's exposition of the liturgy of the London stranger church. Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), appendix No. 57.

[17] No. 164 is the only title in *Niederdeutsch*.

[18] Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford 1986).

market was for a long time now geared to the supremacy of Frankfurt, a much more central and logical distribution centre. But for the German and Italian communities in England, the small groups of vernacular texts appended to the longer Latin list were a potentially useful service. Most of all, England is an entirely plausible market for the Latin religious works which make up the meat of Staphorst's catalogue. Even in the late sixteenth century, the printing industry in England remained comparatively underdeveloped. Although by this point London printers were perfectly well equipped to furnish the trade with vernacular books, classical works and educational texts were still generally imported from more specialised printing centres abroad.[19] Given the high costs of originating such works, which often demanded special sorts of type and considerable investment, it remained throughout the century much more effective to import books of this nature.

This applies particularly to the major theological editions which make up much of Staphorst's list. That there was heavy demand for works of theological exegesis and commentary in England at this time has been amply demonstrated. Francis Higman's analysis of vernacular translations of Calvin's theological works shows that England outstripped all other countries in its demand for Calvin's writings at this time: major editions of all the commentaries were undertaken by English translators and publishers in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, presumably with the assurance of a buoyant market.[20] These translations testify to Calvin's enduring popularity as a writer, but scholars and theologians also continued to purchase the standard Latin editions, and these by and large had to be imported.[21] The fact that many copies of these major works of foreign theology made their way to England is confirmed by the data collected by Elizabeth Leedham-Green for her transcriptions of books mentioned in Cambridge testamentary inventories. This extraordinarily valuable source reveals clearly not only the buoyant demand for Calvin's works in England, but also the use made by Cambridge's

---

[19] David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press. Vol. I. Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534–1698* (Cambridge 1992).

[20] Francis Higman, 'Calvin's Works in Translation', in: *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, ed. A. Duke, Gillian Lewis & Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge 1994).

[21] The *Short Title Catalogue of books published in England* lists Latin editions of the Geneva catechism, one complete Latin edition of the *Institutes* and several abridgements. However, none of the major commentaries or sermon series was ever published in Latin in England.

students and churchmen of works by Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Beza, Gualter and other leading Reformed theologians.[22]

There is therefore no doubt that precisely the sort of works Staphorst proposed to supply would have a ready market in England. But how was he able to conceive of his shop in Emden as an appropriate middle-point for books largely emanating from Switzerland and Germany and destined for England? At first sight this appears geographically perverse and economically absurd. Emden is some 500 miles away from the major centres of supply, and a sea journey of three days or more separated the northern port from England. Only considerable economies of scale could justify such an apparently circuitous route.

And yet Staphorst's plan was not as far-fetched as it might seem, particularly given the troubled nature of the times. At the time Staphorst issued his catalogue, five years of civil warfare in France and the recent revolt in the Netherlands had considerably disrupted the normal patterns of trade in northern and western Europe, particularly with respect to the most frequent channels of communication between England and her immediate neighbours, and through routes to Germany and Italy. In this context Emden was becoming increasingly familiar to English merchants as an alternative route into the markets of Germany and central Europe, as a pivot in a triangular trade between the leading Protestant powers otherwise separated by a perilous land journey through hostile Catholic territory. When in 1563 the England Merchant Adventurers were forced to contemplate moving their staple market away from Antwerp, then for the first time threatened by the increasingly hostile Netherlands regime, it was Emden that emerged as the favoured alternative; then as much on confessional grounds as for the not altogether obvious attractions of the small northern port's modest facilities.[23] But as conflict intensified so Emden grew, and by 1567 its role as a transit port between England and the continent was well established. The first Dutch national synod, meeting in Emden in 1571 precisely because of its convenience for delegates from both Germany and England, was obliged to make special provision to relieve the local

[22] E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1986). For Calvin, vol. 2, pp. 172–80, Beza vol. 2, pp. 90–3, Bullinger, vol. 2, pp. 160–3, Martyr, vol. 2, pp. 530–3.

[23] G. D. Ramsay, *The City of London in International Trade at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor* (Manchester 1975), pp. 217–83.

church of the burden of indigent refugees, so dense had the transit traffic through the city become.[24]

In this context the date of Staphorst's list, 1567, takes on a special significance. For at precisely this moment, international developments gave Emden's entrepreneurial spirits an opportunity to cultivate fresh markets. This year saw a new outbreak of fighting in the religious wars which threatened increasingly to paralyse France, and certainly made the land route through France to Germany and Switzerland especially hazardous. More crucially still, the collapse of the initial revolt against Spanish rule in the Netherlands had serious consequences for Anglo-Netherlandish trade: firstly through the flight of numerous compromised merchants abroad, which seemed set to cripple the Antwerp market, and secondly through the worsening of relations between the English crown and the new Spanish governor, Alva, which would lead within a few months to a renewed trade war and the effective closure of the Antwerp market.[25] All of this presented an ideal opportunity to Emden to propose itself as a new mart town and entrepôt for the wider German market. Religious immigrants brought a new influx of skills and capital; considerations of religious solidarity encouraged the exploration of new economic and cultural ties; the growing network of trade, and the daily journeying of ships back and forth between England and East Friesland, facilitated such contacts. For an initiative of the sort Gaspar Staphorst had in mind, the time was indeed propitious.

All of this is somewhat speculative, since it is extremely hard to establish from independent sources whether Emden succeeded to any extent in establishing itself as an effective middlepoint for the supply of continental theology to the English market. Certainly vernacular books printed in Emden found a market in England, at least among London's Dutch community.[26] And there are plentiful indications that on a wider economic front, Emden's civic fathers cherished the dream of profiting permanently from the demise of Antwerp as an international trading emporium. When in 1574 they set in train the building of a fine new town hall in the renaissance style, this was more or less an architectural

---

[24] F. L. Rutgers, *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw* (Utrecht 1889), pp. 80–4.

[25] G. D. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Manchester 1986).

[26] Pettegree, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 96.

declaration of war on the older Netherlands entrepôt.[27] In the event it was to be Amsterdam that rose from the ashes of Antwerp's decline, but in the mid-1560s Emden's aspirations were far from absurd. The fast growing town had both the capital resources and the skilled population to develop as a major centre of shipping, trade, and manufacture; and it seems, on the evidence of the document presented here, as a centre of the European book trade. The fact that a previously little-known Emden bookseller could aspire to a role as an international supplier of the best works of Reformed theology, imported from as far afield as Geneva, Basle and Wittenberg, adds a new dimension to the brief but highly significant history of Emden as a printing and publishing centre. For twenty years Emden's own printers sustained the young Dutch Reformed church through the publication and clandestine importation of vernacular Dutch literature. This was a signal service, and earned Emden a justified reputation as one of the principal nurseries of Dutch Calvinism. It is now clear that at least one Emden bookseller aspired to a wider role: not least as a link in the chain of printers, scholars and students who by their reading, writing and active promotion of the Reformed cause made up the shadowy but tangible brotherhood of international Calvinism.

Fig. 8.2   Format

	Latin		Vernacular		Totals	
		%		%		%
folio	25	24	13	18	38	22
4to	17	17	5	7	22	13
8vo	55	53	44	62	99	57
12mo	2	2	0		2	1
16mo	4	4	8	11	12	7
32mo			1	1	1	1
Totals	103		71		174	

Books for sale in Emden, 1567.

[27] F. Ritter, 'Zur Geschichte des Emden Rathaus-Baues', in: *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und väterländische Altersthümer zu Emden*, 17 (1910), pp. 340–77.

Fig. 8.3   Place of publication

	Latin	Vernacular	Total
Geneva	22	32	54
Basle	25	0	25
Zurich	14	3	17
Wittenberg	7	5	12
Frankfurt	6	6	12
Strasburg	8	2	10
Leipzig	7	2	9
Emden	0	9	9
Lyon	4	4	8
Paris	2	0	2
Cologne	2	0	2
Heidelberg	1	0	1
Kampen	1	0	1
Erfurt	0	1	1
Magdeburg	0	1	1
Oberursel	0	1	1
France	0	1	1

Appendix

List of books available for sale in Emden, 1567

Bold text represents the entry as printed in the original broadsheet. The numbering has been added for convenience of reference. Authors are only further identified when not clearly signalled in the inventory entry. Editions identified from the British Library Catalogue or National Union Catalogue are not further referenced: otherwise references are usually to the most accessible or definitive bibliographical tool. Copies examined in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel are indicated by the abbreviation HAB.

Works cited in Appendix references:

[Adams]	H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books printed on the Continent of Europe 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1967)
[Froschauer]	E. Rudolphi, *Die Buchdrucker-Familie Froschauer in Zürich 1521–1595* (Nieuwkoop 1963)
[Geneva]	*Les Livres Imprimés a Genève de 1550 à 1600*, ed. Paul Chaix etc. (Geneva 1966)
[Gilmont]	J.-F. Gilmont, *Bibliographie des Editions de Jean Crespin, 1550–1572*, 2 vols. (Geneva 1981)
[Hammer]	Wilhelm Hammer, *Die Melanchthonforschung in Wandel der Jahrhunderte. Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 2 vols. (Gütersloh 1967–8)
[Lindsay]	Robert O. Lindsay & John Neu, *French Political Pamphlets, 1547–1648. A Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries* (Madison 1969)
[Messkataloge]	*Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Die Messkataloge Georg Willers, Herbstmesse 1564 bis Herbstmesse 1573*, ed. Bernhard Fabian (Hildesheim 1972)
[Pettegree]	Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt* (Oxford 1992)
[Staedtke]	Joachim Staedtke, *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie*, Band I (Zurich 1972)
[STCGer]	*Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in German-Speaking Countries and German Books Printed in other Countries from 1455 to 1600 now in British Museum* (London 1962)
[Stupperich]	R. Stupperich, *Bibliographie Bucerana* (Gütersloh 1952)

[VD 16]   *Verzeichnis der in deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (1983–)

[Wackernagel]   Philipp Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1874)

Latini.

1. **Antechristus, sive pronostica finù Mundi. in 8°**
   Rudolph Gualther, Antichristus? Zurich, Froschauer, *c.* 1560. Adams G1407.
2. **Andreas Fricius Modrevius, de peccato originis. in 8°**
   Basle, Oporinus, 1562.
3. **Andreae Hyperij Methodus Theologiae. in 8°**
   Basle, Oporinus, 1567. Adams H1278.
4. **Aggrippa de occulta Philosophia libri quatuor. in 8°**
   Henricus Cornelius Agrippa. Paris, Dupuys, 1567. Adams A388.
5. **Augustini Marlorati in Psalmos comment. in fo.**
   Geneva, Estienne, 1562. Adams M615.
6. **eiusdem in Esiam Prophetam comment. in fo.**
   Geneva, Estienne, 1564.
7. **eiusdem in Novum Testamentum comment. in fo.**
   Geneva, Estienne, 1564. Adams M618.
8. **Apostolicae doctrinae methodus Petri Guinellij. in 8°**
   Kampen, 1562.
9. **Adam Siberi Poemata sacra.**
   Basle, Oporinus, 1566. 8°. Hammer 374.
10. **Eiusdem Psalterium Davidis carmine conscriptum. in 8°**
    Basle, Oporinus, 1562. Hammer 301.
11. **Adversus Synodi Tridentinae restitut. seu continuatione a Pio IIII. P. Max. indicta, opposita gravamina. in 4°**
    Strasburg, Emmel, 1565. HAB.
12. **Biblia sacra, cum varia lectione, annot. & comment. doctissimorum virorum, ex editione Roberti Stephanni. in fo.**
    Geneva, Estienne, 1556–7. HAB.
13. **Bibliotheca studij Theologici ex D. Augustini & Hieronymi libris, & plerisque Doctorum prisci saeculi monumentis collecta. in fo.**
    Geneva, Crespin, 1565. Gilmont 65/4.

14. **Bernardi Ochini de Purgatorio Dialogus. in 8°**
Zurich, Gesner, 1555/6. Adams O21.

15. **Clavis Scripturae sacrae Math. Fl. Illyrici. in fo.**
Basle, Oporinus & Episcopus, 1567. Adams F556.

16. **Confessio fidei Martini Buceri. in 8°**
Novissima Confessio…Leipzig 1562. Stupperich 109.

17. **Conciliatio Patrum, Conciliorum & Decretorum cum sacra Scriptura, edita a Barthel. Westheimero in 4°**
Zurich, Gesner, 1563. Adams W71.

18. **Chronicum Carionis a Philippo Melanth. auctum. in 16°**
Lyons, Tournes & Gazeau, 1564. Adams C709.

19. **eiusdem Liber quintus a Casp. Peucero auctus. in 8°**
Frankfurt, Fabricius for Feyerabend & Hueter, 1566. Adams C711.

20, 21. **Caroli Molinai comment. ad edictum Henrici Secundi contra parvas datas Curia Romana. in 4° & in 8°**
Basle, Parcus, 1552. 4°. Adams 1082
Basle 1552. 8°. HAB.

22. **Eiusdem unio quatuor Evangelistarum in 4°**
Paris?, 1565. Adams D1081.

23, 24. **Corpus doctrina veri & omnipotentis Dei, per Joan. Wigandum & Math. Iudicem, in 4° & in 8°**
Basle, Oporinus & Herwagen, 1564. 4°

25. **De translatione Imperij Romani ad Germanos Matth. Flacco Illyrico in 8°**
Basle, Perna, 1566. Adams F561.

26. **De pace Christianarum Ecclesiarum constituenda, consilium pij viri. in 8°**
Theodore de Bèze. Geneva, Crespin, 1566. Gilmont 66/1.

27. **De officio pij ac publicae tranquillitatis amantis viri Veranus Modestius. in 4°**
George Cassander. Basle? 1562. Adams C842–5.

28. **Defensio insontis libelli de officio pij viri adversus iniquum & importunum castigatorem Verano Modesto in 4°**
Cologne, heirs of Birckmann?, 1562. Adams C842.

29. **Definitiones Theologicae ex veterum & recentiorum Theol. monumentis, per Jacobum Hertelium. in 8°**
Basle, Oporinus, 1564. Adams H446.

30. **David Chytraeus de studio Theologiae recte inchoando. 8°**
    Wittenberg, Crato, 1562. Adams C1586.
31. **De vero verbi Dei, & Sacramentorum ecclesiae ministe-
    rio, authore Petro Vireto. in fo. Rob. Stephani.**
    Geneva, Estienne, 1553. Adams V68.
32. **Disputatio de originali peccato & libero arbitrio, inter
    Math. Flac. Illyricum & Victor Strigelium. in 4°**
    Basle, Oporinus, 1563. Adams F563, 564.
33. **Examen decretorum Concilij Trident. M. Kemnicij. in
    4°**
    Frankfurt, Feyerabend, 1566. 8°. Adams C1436–7.
34. **Explicationes Evangelior. & Epistol. dominicalium & fest.
    a I. Spangenbergio per Tabulas concinnatae. fo.**
    Basle, Oporinus, 1564. Adams S1538.
35. **Errores Georgij Maioris, a Io. Wigando confutati. in 4°**
    1563. HAB
36. **Expostulatio cum Soerico gratis docente. in 4°**
    c. 1565. Michigan State (OCLC)
37. **Epistolae obscurorum virorum. in 12°**
    Frankfurt 1557.
38. **Fredericus Furius de libris sacris in vernaculam linguam
    vertendis. in 8°**
    Basle, Oporinus, 1556. Adams F1178.
39. **Historia Ecclesiastici Martyrum Henr. Panthaleonis &
    Johan. Foxij. tom. II. in fo.**
    Martyrum historia. Pars secunda. Basle, Brylinger, 1563. 8°. Adams
    P177.
40. **Harmonia de ratione institutionis scholasticae. in 8°**
    Johann Garcaeus. Wittenberg, Crato, 1565. HAB.
41. **Henrici Bullingeri Homeliae in Danielem Prophet. in
    fo.**
    Zurich, Froschauer, 1565. Staedtke 428.
42. **Eiusdem comment. in omnes Apostolicas Epistolas
    D. Paulis & Canonicas. in fo.**
    Zurich, Froschauer, 1558. Staedtke 88.
43. **Idem in Esaiam Prophetam comment. in fo.**
    Zurich, Froschauer, 1567. Staedtke 558.
44. **Eiusdem Sermones dierum festorum. in fo.**
    Zurich, Froschauer, 1564. Staedtke 370.

45. **Idem contra Anabaptistas. in 8°**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1560. Staedtke 396.

46. **Historiae Ecclesiast. Magdeburgicae septima centuria fo.**
Basle, Oporinus, 1564–7. Adams M109.7a, 110.7, 111.7

47. **Historia de progressu controversiae Sacramentariae Ludovici Lavateri. in 4°**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1563. Adams L303.

48. **Joannis Calvini Opuscula diversa. in 8°**
Geneva, Barbier & Courteau, 1563.

49. **eiusdem comment. in Moisis libros V. in fo.**
Geneva, Estienne, 1563. Adams C275

50. **eiusdem in Esaiam Prophet. comment. in fo.**
Geneva, Crespin, 1559. Adams C294.

51. **eiusdem in 12. Prophetas minores comment. in 8°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1567. Gilmont 67/2.

52. **eiusdem Institutiones Christianae Religionis. in fo.**
Strasburg, Rihel, 1561.

53. **eiusdem Responsio ad Fr. Balduini convicia. in 4°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1562. Gilmont 62/2.

54. **Interpretatio eorum quae continentur in praefatione Simons Simonij, adversus Jac. Scheckium de ubiquitate carnis Christi. in 8°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1567. Gilmont 67/12.

55. **Ioanns Brentij comment. in Esaiam Prophetam. in fo.**
Frankfurt, Brubach, 1562. HAB.

56. **Ioanns Wierij de praestigijs demonum. 3. editio aucta. 8°**
Basle, Oporinus, 1566.

57. **Icones Mortis. in 8°**
Imagines mortis. Cologne, Birckmann, 1567.

58. **Ioannis Fabritij Montani pro Christi Ecclesia adversus improbas Fontidonij pro Concilio Tridentino calumnias, ad Germanos, defensio. in 8°**
Geneva, Courteau, 1565. Geneva, p. 62.

59. **Ioannis Sleidani de quatuor summis Imperijs libri. in 8°**
S   trasburg, Rihel, 1564. Adams S1279.

60. **eiusdem orationes duae ad Car. V. et Germaniae Princip. 4°**
Strasburg 1544.

61, **62**, 63. **idem de statu Religionis & Reip Car. V. in fo. 8°
16°**
Strasburg, Rihel, 1559. 2°. Adams S1290. Ritter 2142.
Strasburg, Rihel, 1566. Ritter 2144.
Geneva, Badius, 1559. Geneva, p. 40.

64. **Loci communes Wolfgang Musculi. in fo.**
Basle, Hervagium, 1561. HAB.

65. **Melchior Cling in Instituta. in 8°**
Lyons, Rouillé, 1566. Adams C2232.

66. **Methodus Iuris Civilis Conradi Lagi. in 8°**
Lyons, heirs of Gryphius, 1562. Adams L50.

67, 68. **Marcelli Palingenij Zodiacus vitae. in 8° & in 16°**
Basle, heirs of Brylinger, 1566. 8°.
Lyons, Tournes, 1566. 16°. Adams M502.

69. **Nicolai Hemmingij Cathechismus, per quaestiones. 8°**
Wittenberg, Crato, 1564.

70. **eiusdem comment. in Epist. Pauli ad Corinthios. in 8°**
Wittenberg. Messkataloge, p. 27 (1565).

71. **eiusdem comment. in Epist. Pauli ad Romanos.**
Leipzig, Voegelin, 1562. 8°. Adams H218.

72. **eiusdem Postilla seu enarrat. Evang. domin. & festo. 8°**
Leipzig, Voegelin, 1562. Adams E4567.
Wittenberg, Crato, 1562. Adams E4568.

73. **eiusdem Pastor. sive pastoris optimus vivendi, agendique modus. in 8°**
Leipzig, Voegelin, 1565. VD16: H1869.

74. **Opera Theologica Joannis Rivij. in fo.**
Basle, Oporinus, 1562. Adams R595.

75. **Onomasticon Theologicum. in 8°**
Wittenberg, Crato, 1564.

76. **Protocollum colloquij inter Palatinos & Wirtembergicos Theologos de omnipraesentia corporis Christi. in 4°**
Heidelberg, Schirat, 1566. HAB.

77. **Petri Martyris in Epist. Pauli ad Romanos comment. 8°**
Basle, Perna, 1560. HAB.

78. **Eiusdem in priorem ad Corinthios Epist. comment. 8°**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1567. 2°.[28]

79. **Idem de utraque in Christo natura dialogus. in 8°**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1563. Adams M765.

80. **Eiusdem Preces sacrae ex Psalmis Davidicis desumtae.**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1566. 8°. HAB.

81. **Psalterium Davidis cum duplici translatione, veteri nempe & nova Roberti Stephani. in 8°**
Geneva, Estienne, 1557. Adams B1435.

82. **Psalterium Davidis ex Hebraica veritate transl. cum comment. Io. Pomerani. in 4°**
Frankfurt, Egenolff. VD16: B3180.

83. **Psalterium Davidis cum annotat. Georgij Maioris. 12°**
Wittenberg, Schwenck, 1561.[29]

84. **Paedologia Petri Mosellani. in 8°**
Frankfurt 1563.

85. **Philippi Melanthonis selectae declamationes. in 8°**
Strasburg, Emmel, 1564–7. Adams M1122.

86 **Philippi Melanthonis ortus, vita & mors. in 8°**
Joachim Camerarius. Leipzig, Voegelin, 1566. Hammer 365.

87. **Orat. & Epitaphia de morte P. Melanth. in 8°**
Wittenberg, Crato, 1561/2. Hammer 303. Adams M1186.

88. **Eiusdem Corpus doctrinae Christianae. in fo.**
Leipzig, Voegelin, 1563. Adams M1104.

89. **Rodolphi Gualteri comment. in Marcum. Evang. in fo.**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1564. Adams G1372.

90. **eiusdem in acta Apostolorum comment. in fo.**
Zurich, Froschauer, 1562. Adams G1387.

91. **Responsio Christianorum Iurisconsultorum ad Fr. Duarenum de ministeriis & Ecclesiae beneficiis. in 8°**
François Baudouin. Strasburg, Mueller, 1556. HAB.

92. **Responsio Tho. Erasti ad libellum Jac. Schegkii de una persona & dua in Christo naturis. in 8°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1567. Gilmont, 67/6.

---

[28] Wolfenbüttel HAB has an octavo edn.: Zurich, Froschauer, 1551. In view of the date the later folio edn. seems more likely.

[29] Wolfenbüttel HAB has a later octavo edn.: Strasburg, Rihel, 1566.

93. **Responsio ad versipellem quendam mediatorem. in 8°**
    [Calvin]. Geneva, Crespin, 1561. Gilmont, 1561/3.
94. **Sathanae stratagemata Jac. Acontio auctore. in 4°**
    Basle, Perna, 1565. Adams A117.
95. **Sermonum convivalium tomi 3. in 8°**
    Johann Gast. Basle, Brylinger, 1566. Adams G278.
96. **Scripta quaedam Papae & Monar. de Con. Trident. in 8°**
    Math. Flacius Illyricus. Basle 1555? HAB.
97. **Theodori Bezae in novum Testamentum graecolatinum cum duplici versione latina, annotationes. in fo.**
    Geneva, Estienne, 1565.
98. **Eiusdem Tractatus tres, unus de unitate ecclesiae divinae; alter, De hypostatica duarum in Christo naturarum unione: tertius, De Sacramentali corporis & sanguinis Christi cum sacris symbolis coniunctione. in 8°**
    Geneva, Crespin, 1565 or 1567. Gilmont 65/3.
99. **Eiusdem Apologia ad libellum Sorbonici Theologastri Cl. de Sainctes: Cui tit. fecit Examen Calvinianae & Bezanae doctrinae de coena Domini. in 8°**
    Geneva, Crespin, 1567. Gilmont 1567/1.
100. **Eiusdem Responsio ad defensiones Novi Testamenti Seb. Castalionis. in 8°**
    Geneva, Estienne, 1563. Adams B944.
101. **Testamentum novum Sebast. Castalione interprete. in 8°**
    Basle, Oporinus, 1551. 16°
102. **Testamentum novum, variis ad marginem difficilium imprimis locorum explicationib. adnotatum. 16°**
103. **Victorini Strigelij in Proverbia Salomonis Scholia. in 8°**
    Leipzig, Voegelin, 1565. HAB.

Gallici.
104. **Apologie des Medicins contre certains nouveaux Apothecaires, per Jean Surel Medecin. in 8°**
105. **Apologie de l'Edict du Roy sur la pacification de son Royaulme, contre les Remonstr. des 3. estatz de Bourgoigne.**
    1564. 8°. Lindsay 362.

106. **Actes des Martyrs. in fo.**
Geneva, Crespin, 1565. Geneva, p. 61.

107, 108. **Bible saincte, avec annotations & arguments. in fo. & in 8°**
Geneva, Bernard & Du Mont, 1565. 2°
Geneva, L'Olivier de Estienne, 1565. 2°. Geneva, p. 60.
Geneva, Estienne, 1567. 8°.
Geneva, Perrin, 1567. 8°. Geneva, p. 66.

109. **Baston de la foy Chrestienne, in 8°**
Guy de Brès. Geneva, Courteau, 1565. Geneva, p. 61.

110. **Concordance nouvelle du vieil & nouveau Testament. fo.**
Geneva, Courteau, 1566. Geneva, p. 63.

111. **Comment. de Henry Bullinger sur l'Apocalypse. in 8°**
Geneva, Bonnefoy, 1565. Staedtke 349–51.

112. **Discours sur le conge impetré par M. le Card. de Loraine.**
Jacques Paul Spifame. [Geneva?], 1565. 8°. Lindsay 444.

113. **Discours fantastique de Justin Tonnelier. in 8°**

114. **Deux monstres prodigieuz d'un asne-pape & veau-moyne**
Luther and Melanchthon. Geneva, Crespin, 1557. Gilmont 57/11.

115. **Du grand & loyal debvoir, fidelité, & obeissance de Messieurs de Paris envers le Roy & courone de France. 8°**
Louis la Planche. [France, *c*. 1565?]

116. **Ecclesiaste explique par M. Luther. in 8°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1557. Gilmont 57/9.

117. **Estat de l'Eglise avec les discours du temps, depuis les Apostres iusques a presens. in 8°**
Jean de Hainault. Geneva, Crespin, 1564. Gilmont 64/5*.

118. **Enseignement a bien former les sainctes Predications & Sermons par André Hyperius. in 8°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1564. Gilmont 1564/4.

119. **Epistres Chrestiennes de Maturin Cordier. in 8°**
Strasburg, Guédon, 1547.[30]

---

[30] Probably a later edition. Two editions are mentioned in the inventory of Laurent

120. **Familiere Instruction Chrestienne. in 16°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1564. Gilmont 64/5.

121. **Fondemens de la Religion Chrest. d'André Hyperius. 8°**
Geneva, Olivier & Fondrin, 1565. Geneva, p. 62.

Jean Calvin.

122. **Traicté de la reformation de l'Eglise. in 8°**
Deux Traités…Geneva, Reboul, 1559. Geneva, p. 38.

123. **Institution de la Religion Chrestienne. 8°**
Geneva/Lyons, Frellon, 1565.

124. **Recueil des opuscules, ou petitz traictez.**
Geneva, Pinereul, 1566. 2°. Geneva, p. 63.

125. **Sermons sur le Deuteronome. in fo.**
Geneva, Courteau, 1567. Geneva, p. 66.

126, 127. **Harmonie sur les 4. Evangelistes. fo. & 8°**
Geneva, Blanchier, 1563. 2°. Geneva, p. 56.
Geneva, Badius, 1561. 8°. Geneva, p. 47.

128. **Comment. sur les Epistres de S. Paul & Canoniques, & Actes des Apostres**
Lyons, Honorat, 1563. 4°

129. **Instruction Chrestienne en la doctrine de la loy & l'Evangile, de Pierre Viret. in fo. 2. to.**
Geneva, Rivery, 1564. Geneva, p. 59.

130. **Introduction au traicté de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes. in 8°**
Geneva, Estienne, 1566. Geneva, p. 64.

131. **Jean Sleidan des quatres Empires souveraines. in 8°**
Geneva, Courteau, 1565. Geneva, p. 62.

132. **Oeuvres de Jean Sleidan. in fo.**
Geneva, Crespin, 1566. Gilmont 66/11.

133. **Histoire de l'estat de la Religion soubz Charles V. in 8°**
Geneva, Crespin, 1558. Gilmont, 58/17.

134, 135. **Nouveau Testament avec annotations. in 8° & in fo.**

----

de Normandie (1570), in a total of more than 200 copies. See H.-L. Schlaepfer, 'Laurent de Normandie', in G. Berthoud et al., *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse* (Geneva 1957), p. 217 Nos. 177, 178). There is a further edition of 1552 in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Geneva, Estienne, 1567. 8°. Geneva, p. 66.

Geneva, Perrin, 1563. 2°. Geneva, p. 55.

136. **Paraphrase de Francois Borgoing sur le Cate-chisme. in 8°**

137. **Pseaulmes de David, Latin & Francois. in 16°**

Geneva, Bourgeois, 1563. Geneva, p. 55.

138, 139, 140. **Pseaulmes de David, notez. in 8° & in 16° & in 32°**

Geneva, Bonnefoy, 1567. 8°

Geneva, Estienne, 1567. 8°. Geneva, p. 66.

Geneva, Courteau, Bonnefoy, and Durant, 1566. Geneva, pp. 62–3.

141. **Recueuil des choses memorables. vol. 1 & 3. in 8°**

Strasburg, Estiard, *c*. 1565–6. Brown U (OCLC)

142. **Sainctes prieres & oraisons, recueilles des Pseaulmes de David par Pierre Martyr. in 16°**

Italici.

143. **Agrippa della vanita delle scienze. in 8°**

Lyons, 1564, 12°

144. **Il Catechismo volgare. in 16°**

Calvin. Geneva, Pinerolio, 1566. Geneva, p. 63.

145. **Istoria del stato della religione sotto Carlo V. di M. Giovanni Sleidano. in 4°**

Geneva, Jaquy, Davodeau & Bourgeois, 1557.

146. **Salmi di David. in 16°**

Geneva, Pinereul, 1566. Geneva, p. 63.

Germanici.

147. **Biltwerck dess gottliche wesens und willens in Frag und Antwort, durch Christoff. Lazium. in 8°**

Leipzig, Voegelin, 1565.

148. **Confession oder bekantenis des Glaubens von Augsburg.**

Wittenberg, heirs of Raawen, 1558. STCGer, p. 52.

149. **Chronica Philippi Melanthonis. in fo.**

Frankfurt, Kichner, 1566.

150. **Christenlicher gesang fur gottfruchtige Jung-frewlin, gemacht durch M. Paulum Eberum. in 8°**

Wittenberg, Schwenck, 1561. Wackernagel, p. 1123.

151. **Das newe Testament Marth. Luther. in 8°**
     Wittenberg, Lufft, 1563. VD16: B4461.

152. **Das newe Testament zu Zurich gedruct. in 16°**
     Zurich, Froschauer, 1566. VD16: B4464.

153. **Das gulden Kleinots And Musculi. in 8° dry theil.**
     Erfurt, Baumann, 1561. Stevenson ted. 920.

154. **Das buch Josua mit einer ausslegung Joan. Brentii. 8°**
     Frankfurt, Lechler, 1565. VD16: B7539.

155. **Der geistlich schatz Christenlicher vorbereitung und glaubigs trost Ambrosij Blauerer. in 8°**
     Zurich, Froschauer, 1566. VD16: B5688.

156. **Gegenbericht und verantwortung der Predicanten zu Franckfort. in 8°**
     Oberursel, Henricus, 1563. VD16: G689.

157. **Gulden Kleinot von der verloren Schaff, durch C. Lazium.**
     Wittenberg, Luft, 1556. 8°. VD16: L570.

158. **Geisteliche lieder ge . . . durch Mirth. Luther. in 16°**
     c. 1557. Berkeley (OCLC).

159. **Loci communes Philippi Melanchonis. in 8°**
     Wittenberg, Kreutzer, 1561. HAB.

160. **Jeremias Lomberg de Justificatione. in 8°**
     Frankfurt, 1567.

161. **Kirchenkalender. in 8°**
     Kaspar Goldwurm. Frankfurt, Egenolff, 1564. VD16: G2591.

162. **Marcelli Palingenij Zodaicus vitae. in 8°**
     Frankfurt, Raben, Feyerabend and heirs of Han, 1564. VD16: M863.

163. **Davids Psalter, mit kurtzer summarien. in 8°**
     Frankfurt, Lechler, 1567. VD16: B3329.

164. **Postilla dudesch, aver dat ganze Jar, vor de Jungen Christen knechte . . . Megede yun frage stucke vorvatet, durch Joannem Spangenberch. in 4°**
     Magdeburg, Walther and Kirshner, 1560. 8°. HAB.[31]

165. **Trostbuchle, genomen auss dem anderen capittel des Prophets Habacuc. durch Johansen Smid. in 8°**
     Zurich, Froschauer, 1561.

---

[31] This is the only title listed in Low German.

166. **Vom newen Orden der Jesuider, was ir glaube sey. &c.**
 J. Zanger Oenipontanum. 8°. Leipzig, 1562.

Teutonici.

167, 168. **Den Bybel. in fo. & in 4°**
 Emden, Gailliart, 1565. 2°.
 Emden, Ctematius, 1565. 2°. Pettegree 142, 154.

169. **Bybelsche Concordancie op d'nieuwe ende oude Testament.**
 Emden, Gailliart, *c*. 1565. 8°. Pettegree 144.

170. **Christelycke Sermonen oft wtlegginghen der Epistelen ende Evangelien von die Sondagen ende Heylige daghen, ghemaect doer eenen devoten Minderbroeder.**
 Emden, Ctematius?, *c*. 1565. 8°. Pettegree 158.

171. **Christelycke onderwijsinghe voer de Jonghe Kinderen, von nieus oversien by eerw. leeraers der H. schrift.**

172. **Historien ofte gheschiedenissen der vromer Martelaren van den tijde Christi af totten Jare 1566. in 4°**
 Emden, Gailliart, 1565. Pettegree 145.

173. **Joannii Tauleri van een volcomen Evangelisschen leven, Christelycke Predicatien ofte Sermonen op alle sondaghen ende feestdagen vanden gheheelen Jare.**
 Emden, Gailliart, 1565. 2°. Pettegree 146.

174. **Spelen van sinne, ghespeelt binnen de Stadt van Ghent.**
 Emden, Gailliart, *c*. 1566? 8°. Pettegree 170.

175. **Veelderhande liedekens ghemaect wt den ouden ende nieuwen Testament.**
 Emden, Gailliart, 1566? 8°. Pettegree 171.

176. **Wtlegghinghe Joannis Calvini op alle de Sendbrieven Pauli, ende op den sendbrief tot den Hebreen.**
 Emden, Ctematius and Gailliart, 1566. 2°. Pettegree 161.

Isti libri vaenales habentur apud Gasparum Staphorst Bibliopolam Embdensem, An. 1567.

CHAPTER NINE

TRANSLATION AND THE MIGRATION OF TEXTS

The sixteenth century was an era of enormous turbulence and danger for those who undertook the uncertainties of travel. But unprecedented numbers did so, often moving permanently from one part of Europe to another. It is this movement of peoples that we have most in mind when we address the subject of migration, not least the enormous numbers of religious refugees who left one part of continental Europe to escape religious persecution.[1] But in fact the issue of migration may be said to encompass three major developments that fell within the intellectual compass of the age.

First, most obviously, was the migration of peoples, much stimulated by the religious convulsions of the age. Secondly we may note the movement of ideas that preceded this. Whatever one thinks of the success or failure of the Protestant Reformation as a European movement, there can be no doubt that the speed with which Luther's ideas became known across Europe was quite phenomenal.[2] Luther's criticisms were taken up or confuted with remarkable speed in centres of learning around Europe, spread both by printed editions and by correspondence among the rather self-conscious humanist scholarly network.

Both of these are relatively well known. This essay will be devoted to a third major trans-national movement, the migration of text. This might be thought to be no more than a natural corollary of the first two. Certainly migrant populations spread knowledge of their own favourite texts, and created demand for a literature of instruction, especially dictionaries, to aid their integration into their new environments.[3] There is also no doubt that the Reformation created major new markets for translated theological and controversial texts. But in the realm of

---

[1] *Le migrazioni in Europa secc. XIII–XVIII* (Institution Internazionale di storia economica 'F. Datini', Prato, Florence, 1994).

[2] Bernd Moeller, 'Luther in Europe: his works in translation, 1517–1546', in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (eds.), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe* (Basingstoke, 1877), pp. 235–251.

[3] Margarete Lindemann, *Die französischen Wörterbücher von den Anfängen bis 1600. Entstehung und typologische Beschreibung* (Tübingen, 1994).

books the impetus given to the international exchange of ideas by the Reformation only added an extra dimension to a phenomenon that already existed, and had done so since long before the invention of print. Particularly in the field of literature and poetry the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had already seen the development of a lively cross-border and cross-cultural movement of texts, one particularly marked in specific categories of literature that proved appealing to the growing numbers of literate men and women in secular occupations. The invention of printing in the mid fifteen century gave this cross-cultural flow of texts enormous new impetus. New bibliographical scholarship, which has enabled us to log systematically the growth of a market for printed books in almost all of Europe's major centres of production, allows us for the first time to gauge the full social importance of this phenomenon.[4]

This present investigation probes some of these issues with relation to one especially popular text: the vast, sprawling epic known as the *Amadis de Gaule*. A text of rather uncertain authorship emanating from the Spain of the *reconquista*, *Amadis* went on to become one of the most popular and sought after texts of the sixteenth century. It was part of a range of Iberian chivalric books that proved a staple of the recreational reading of men and women in large parts of western and northern Europe. In tracing the publication history of this single book (or series of books, since the *Amadis* ran to many volumes) we can also chart changes in public taste, as the work mutated into different formats and sizes to suit a changing reading public. We can also see how the text adapted to suit different local audiences with different expectations of an epic tale of courage, fantasy, and courtly behaviour.

The first known version of the tales of *Amadis* seems to date from the early fifteenth century, to judge from a manuscript fragment rediscovered in the middle of the 20th century.[5] In this earliest version it took its inspiration from the French Arthurian Romances of the thirteenth

---

[4] On recent developments in bibliographical scholarship see Andrew Pettegree, 'Print and Print Culture', in Alec Ryrie (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformation* (London, 2006).

[5] Daniel Eisenberg and Maria Carmen Marín Pina, *Bibliografía de los liobros de caballerías castellanos* (Zaragoza, 2000), pp. 129–130. For a helpful introduction to Amadis in English see the introduction by Helen Moore to *Amadis de Gaule. Translated by Anthony Munday* (Aldershot, 2004). For the French Amadis see especially Nicole Cazauran and Michel Bideaux (eds.), *Les Amadis en France au XVIe siècle* (Cahiers Victor Saulnier, Paris, 2000).

century, a fact that may help explain the extraordinary popularity of the later French version. But the formative influence for the sixteenth century *Amadis* was definitely Spanish, and its guiding genius the fifteenth century Spanish writer Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo.[6] It was Moltalvo, a civil servant in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who shaped the tales of Amadis according to the conventions of the Spanish books of chivalry, or 'lobros de caballería'. It was Montalvo too who began to develop the tale with the narrative and rhetorical expansiveness that began to make of *Amadis* a work that would far outstrip others of the genre.

The Spanish books of chivalry were essentially a continuation of the mediaeval Arthurian tradition though with important thematic and stylistic variations.[7] While they generally remained faithful to the original British and French settings of the original tales, they extended the geographical scope to include adventures in other exotic locations. In the case of *Amadis*, the stories of Amadis, his brothers and Lisuerte, King of Britain, are interwoven with more discursive material. And while the noble protagonists remain at the heart of the story, their amorous exploits play as great a role as feats of daring in battle. This important development greatly increased the appeal of *Amadis* to a wider range of readership, and especially female readers. In its sixteenth century manifestation, *Amadis* was far more than a tale of noble deeds and fantastic courage. It was also admired as a model book of courtly behaviour, and *Amadi*s was frequently published in epitomes intended specifically to promote courtly manners and fine writing style.[8]

The chivalric narratives enjoyed their greatest vogue in Spanish literary culture in the first half of the sixteenth century, and were especially associated with the court of Charles V—a fact that greatly assisted the spread of their international renown. The first printed edition of *Amadis* was published in 1508 in Spanish, and consisted of the first four books.[9] By 1526 there were eight books in print, and a further four volumes

---

[6] For Montalvo see E. B. Place and H. C. Behm, *Amadis of Gaul* (Studies in Romance Languages, 22, Lexington, KEN, 1974).

[7] William J. Entwistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula* (London, 1925). María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, 'Arthurian Literature in Spain and Portugal', in Roger Sherman Loomis (ed.), *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History* (Oxford, 1959).

[8] Véronique Benhaïm, 'Les Thresors d'Amadis', in *Les Amadis en France*, pp. 157–181.

[9] *Los quarto libros del virtuoso cauallero Amadis de Gaula* (Çaragoça, 1508). *Index Aureliensis* (hereafter *IA*) 104.214.

followed by 1546.[10] But despite this ready success with a Spanish reading public, the progress of *Amadis* towards the status of international bestseller should properly be dated from the appearance of the first editions in French, a magnificent cycle of translations of the first eight volumes published successively between 1540 and 1548.[11]

The French *Amadis* was substantially the achievement of Nicolas de Herberay, one of the great figures of sixteenth century French letters. Nicolas de Herberay, seigneur des Essars, was a well-connected and erudite courtier at the court of Francis I. As commissioner of artillery Herberay was also obliged to follow the army when the King went on campaign, and it is generally thought that after the Francis I was captured at the battle of Pavia that Herberay chose to share the king's captivity in Spain. It was here that he acquired both his knowledge of Spanish and his enduring love of Spanish literature. After his return to France Herberay turned his attention almost exclusively to literary ventures, rendering into French an extended sequence of classics of Spanish romantic and chivalric literature, such as *Flores de Grèce*, *Primeleon*, and the *Arnalte et Lucende* of Diego de San Pedro.[12] But it was his *Amadis* that would seal Herberay's claim to be a seminal figure in the development of French letters.

The appearance of the *Amadis* translation seems to have been both carefully prepared and eagerly awaited.[13] The initiative came from the translator, who prepared the way by obtaining a royal privilege to protect the interests of those who had invested in the work.[14] As partners he enlisted some of the most illustrious members of the Parisian book world, the printer Denis Janot and the booksellers Jean Longis and Vincent Sertenas. In a dedication to a later work Herberay hinted that the enterprise of *Amadis* was directly encouraged by the King.[15] If this was the case it certainly explains the care and expense lavished on

---

[10] *IA* 103.224, 104.240.

[11] *IA* 104.230–251.

[12] Diego de San Pedro, *Petit traité de Arnalte et Lucenda (1546)*, ed. Véronique Duché-Gavet (Paris, 2004).

[13] For what follows see especially Stephen Rawles, 'The Earliest editions of Nicolas de Herberay's translations of Amadis de Gaule', *The Library*, 6th ser., 3 (1981), pp. 91–108.

[14] On the issue of privilege see Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before copyright: the French book-privilege system 1498–1526* (Cambridge, 1990).

[15] *Premier livre de la chronique de don Flores de Grece* (Paris, 1552), sig. ã2r.

the production of what were by any standards exceptionally beautiful books.

We are unusually well informed about the early publication history of the French *Amadis*, thanks both to specialist bibibliographical work and to the survival of contracts between Herberay and his printers.[16] In the first contract Herberay hands over to Longis and Sertenas the rights of his privilege, granting unique rights to publish the text for six years. With this assurance Longis and Sertenas commissioned from Janot an unusual and visually striking volume. Rather than the Gothic type usual in a editions of chivalric literature before this date, the French *Amadis* appeared in a bold roman type, and in text lined across the page, rather than two columns. To enhance the appearance of luxury, the text was accompanied by a series of newly cut woodcuts in a bold Renaissance style.[17]

The hopes and expectations invested in the project by its sponsors were not disappointed: the first volume of the French *Amadis* was an immediate publishing sensation. A second contract hurriedly drawn up between Herberay and his printers committed him to the delivery of a manuscript of the second, third and fourth volumes as soon as he had translated them, in return for generous cash payments. The contracts also specified that no copies of later volumes were to be sold before Herberay had presented the first copies to the King. This provision could not dampen the enthusiasm of what had now become an eager and extended readership. Provincial readers gave instructions to their Parisian agents for the delivery of *Amadis* as soon as it became available.[18] The fortunate printers strove manfully to meet this demand. For volume four, published in 1543, Janot put out at least three separate issues in the space of the year, some revealing signs of unusual haste in their composition.[19]

---

[16] Rawles, 'Earliest editions', enhanced by the work of the St Andrews French Book Project.

[17] Examples reproduced in Jean-Marc Chatelain, 'L'illustration d'*Amadis de Gaule* dans les éditions françaises du XVIᵉ siècle', *Les Amadis en France*, pp. 41–52.

[18] Susan Broomfield, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot, 2002).

[19] The three states may be distinguished by differences in the title-page and preliminary quires. State A: LE QVATREIESME [sic] || Liure; State B: LE QVATRIESME || Liure, prelims signed [ ], the dedication is to Montmorency; State C: LE QVATRIESME || Liure, prelims signed A, the dedication is to King Francis I.

A large part of the success of the *Amadis* lay in Herberay's success
in preparing the text for a French audience. The local resonance of
Gaule allowed French readers to claim *Amadis* as a patriotic work, and
gave credence to Herberay's stated intention in making the transla-
tion to 'glorify Gaule'. But the enduring renown of *Amadis* also owed
much to the universally acknowledged brilliance of Herberay's work,
creating a French of such perfection that it was widely believed to have
outstripped and improved the Spanish original.[20] The publication of
Amadis advertised the perfection of the French language at a time when
language was a subject of fierce debate, precisely whether a vernacular
tongue could equal the eloquence and expressive quality of the admired
classical languages.[21] Herberay's work was also a milestone in that it
rendered texts directly from the Spanish, rather than through the more
usual intermediary of Italian. The public interest in *Amadis* seems in
fact to have stimulated a wave of translation projects from Italian, as
for instance the *Orlando Furioso* and the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. This
last seems to have been published directly to compete with *Amadis* as
a model of French language.[22]

In all Nicolas de Herberay translated eight volumes of the *Amadis*
cycle, published in multiple issues between 1540 and 1548. The death
of his second wife interrupted the sequence; Herberay now preferred
to turn his mind to more elevated projects, such as his equally fine
translation of Flavius Josephus. It was only after his death, however, that
the *Amadis* sequence was resumed by others, including Gilles Boileau,
Claude Colet, Jacques Gohorry and Guillaume Aubert. Herberay's
retreat from authorial activity did little to dampen the popularity of
Amadis. The project having originally been conceived for an elite reader-

---

[20] As was claimed by Gilles Boilleau, in his dedication to Herberay of his translation
of Luis Avila's *Commentaire*: 'Monsieur, je suis si accoustumé de parler Espaignol avec
vous…l'amitié qu'il vous a pleu me monstrer en vostre maison des Essars …oeuvre
heureux, & qui contente fort un chascun, qui voit comme avez proprement traduict
les livres d'Amadis, & le premier de Iosephe de la guerre des Iuifs: le tout en stile tant
excellent, qui Amadis ne parla oncques si bon Castilien, qu'il parle par vous sa langue
naturelle de Gaule: ny ce Iuif sceut jamais si bien escrire son Grec, que vous l'avez
traduict en François'. Avila, *Commentaire contenant la guerre d'Allemaigne* (Paris, 1551), sig.
A3r–v.
[21] Joachim du Bellay, *La deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse* (Paris, 1549).
Susan Baddeley, *L'Orthographie Française au temps de la réforme* (Geneva, 1993). Mireille
Huchon, 'Amadis, "Parfaicte idée de nostre langue françoise", in *Les Amadis en France*,
pp. 183–200.
[22] Jean Balsamo, *Les rencontres des muses. Italianisme et anti-italianisme dans les letters françaises
de la fin du XVIe siècle* (Geneva, 1992), pp. 109, 291.

ship, it is clear that interest in the text had quickly spread beyond this, to embrace an increasingly bourgeois and female readership. To cater for these new readers publishers swiftly moved to the publication of editions in cheaper octavo formats: the next decades witnessed publication of extended sequences of volumes in Paris, Antwerp and Lyon.[23] In this context it is worth noting that the enduring popularity of chivalric literature for a non-gentle and non-noble audience embraced many other texts besides *Amadis*, such as the sequence of popular texts published in a cheap quarto edition by the Paris bookseller Nicolas Bonfons between 1570 and 1586.[24] The adoption of these same texts into the Troyes *Bibliothèque Bleue* in the seventeenth century completed this transition from an elite to an entirely plebeian readership.[25] For the socially ambitious there was also the *Thresor des douze livres*, a compendium of orations, love discourse and letters, a veritable primer of eloquence and correct behaviour. This also went through multiple editions after its first publication in 1559.[26]

While *Amadis* was conquering France, it also continued its triumphal progress across Europe. In Italy the availability of a Spanish edition published in Rome in 1519 first brought *Amadis* to the notice of an Italian public.[27] An Italian translation followed, and Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano added six books of his own devising to those translated from the Spanish, bringing the total in the Italian cycle to 18.[28] When

---

[23] For the Antwerp *Amadis* see Leon Voet, *The Plantin press (1555–1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (6 vols., Amsterdam, 1980–1983).

[24] *L'Hystoire des nobles et vaillans Cheualiers Milles & Amys* (Paris, Bonfons, s.d.); *La terrible et merveilleuse vie de Robert le diable* (Paris, Bonfons, s.d.); *Ogier le dannoys* (Paris, Bonfons, s.d.); *L'Histoire du noble preux & vaillant Cheualier Guillaume de Palerne. Et de la belle Melior* (Paris, Bonfons, s.d.); *Histoire des merveilleux faicts du preux & vaillant chevalier Artus de Bretaigne* (Paris, Bonfons, 1584); *Histoire des hauts et chevaleureux faicts d'armes de Meliadus* (Paris, Bonfons, 1584); *Histoire de Morgant le géant* (Paris, Bonfons, 1584); *Histoire du noble Tristan, Prince de Leonnois, Chevalier de la Table Ronde* (Paris, Bonfons, 1586); *L'Histoire de Melusine fille du roy d'Albanie et de madame Pressine* (Paris, Bonfons, s.d.); *Histoire du preux et vaillant chevalier Meurvin* (Paris, Bonfons, s.d.). There is a superb sequence of these extremely rare works in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

[25] *L'Histoire de Melusine, nouvellement imprimée* (Troyes, 1699). Alfred Morin, *Catalogue descriptif de la bibliothèque bleue de Troyes* (Geneva, 1974).

[26] *Le Thresor des douze livres d'Amadis* (Paris, Groulleau, 1559). For a study of the various versions of the *Thresor* see Benhaïm, 'Les Thresors d'Amadis', in *Les Amadis en France*, pp. 157–181.

[27] *Los quarto libros del muy esforçada cauallero Amadis de Gaula* (Rome, 1519). *IA* 104.218. A further Spanish editions was published at Venice in 1533: *IA* 104.228.

[28] *La prodezza di Splandian, che seguono à i Quattro libri di Amadis di Gaula suo padre, tradotta dalla Spagnuola nella nostra lingua* (Venice, 1547). *IA* 104.243.

Amadis mania reached its height in France, French editors turned to this Italian continuation to feed an eager public. Between 1576 and 1581 Books XV to XXI appeared in French translations from the Italian—though some of the title-pages continued, misleadingly, to assert Spanish antecedents.[29]

Amadis also became all the rage in Germany.[30] Since it was from France, rather than Spain, that the text migrated, the numbering of the German books followed the French scheme. It should be noted here that Herberay's French text was in no way identical to the Spanish original either in the text or even in the enumeration of the books: most French translations ignore the unsatisfactory bastard books VI and VIII of the Spanish original, which adds greatly to the bibliographical complexity in comparing editions in different vernaculars.[31] No matter: in Germany in 1594 and 1595 the local popularity of the work stimulated the creation of three further books original to the German—which brought the total number of books in the German *Amadis* cycle to a bloated 24.[32]

In England, the Amadis text was remarkably slow to make its way into vernacular translation. Indeed the first exposure of the English reading public to Amadis came not from the text itself but from a translation of the excerpts collected in the *Thresor*.[33] It was not until the final decade of the century that English readers had access to a full version of books one (1590), two (1593) and five (1598).[34] A full sequence of the first four books was finally published only in 1618 and 1619.[35] These English translations were the work of the prolific playwright and pamphleteer Anthony Munday, and seem to have been intended for a largely bourgeois and plebeian audience.[36] This may

---

[29] In editions by Jean Poupy and Jean Parent in Paris, Benoist Rigaud and François Didier in Lyon, and Henry Heyndricx in Antwerp.

[30] *Das erste Buch der Hystorien vom Amadis auss Franckreich newlich auss frantzösischer in under allgemeine geliebte teutsche Sprach gebracht* (Frankfurt, 1569). *IA* 104.331.

[31] The eighth book of the Amadis series in Spanish, the *Lisuarte de Grecia*, failed to find favour largely because its author, Juan Días chose to do to death the eponymous hero. See Sylia Roubaud, 'Mort(s) et resurrection(s) d'Amadis', in *Les Amadis en France*, pp. 9–19.

[32] *IA* 104.491, 104.494, 104.495, 104.504.

[33] *The moste excellent and pleasaunt booke, entituled: the treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (London, c. 1572) *STC* 545.

[34] *STC* 541, 542, 542.5.

[35] *STC* 543, 544.

[36] On Munday see now Tracy Hill, *Anthony Munday and civic culture: theatre, history, and power in early modern London 1580–1633* (Manchester, 2004).

well be because in more elevated reading circles the *Amadis* cycle was already sufficiently well known through purchase of Herberay's French editions. Significant support for this supposition comes from the evidence of surviving copies, particularly the large number of copies that have found their way to the major American library collections—almost certainly the result of the systematic plunder of the English country houses that led to the transfer of so much art to the United States in the 1880s and 1890s. And there is at least one important piece of contemporary evidence, which brings us at last to Scotland, for it is known that in 1571 the 15 year old Charles Stewart, uncle of King James, began a translation of the French *Amadis* at the request of his mother—he completed only a chapter and a half before more normal 15 year old preoccupations intervened, but that unusual fragment has helpfully found its way into the manuscripts of the British Library. The tales of Amadis were also extremely influential in contemporary English literature and drama—an influence which often predates the publication of Munday's translations.[37]

The *Amadis* was in its own day immensely popular, but also controversial. Humanists and theologians combined to rail against its frivolity, immorality, and inferior quality, compared to works of the classics. At best, the reading of such a work was a frivolous waste of time—at worst a school of vice. The reading public thought otherwise. The *Index Aureliensis*, an attempt to list all the books published throughout Europe in the sixteenth century which has now reached as far as the letter D, lists some 300 editions. Of these 154 are in French—though more recent bibliographical study, that relies on library visits as well as a range of bibliographical works not available when the *Index Aureliensis* published its first volumes, has added many other issues and editions not then known. The planned bibliography of books published in French before 1601 will eventually list around 300 bibliographically distinct items for the French translations of *Amadis* alone.[38]

The books enjoyed especial popularity in the middle years of the century, the four decades between the first appearance of Herberay's translations, and the publication of a magnificent pocket edition of 21 books in Lyon, 1577–79. Writing a little after this the Protestant

---

[37] John J. O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule and its influence on Elizabethan Literature* (New Brunswick, 1970).

[38] Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

general and author François de La Noue (who deplored them) placed the
height of the *Amadis* vogue during the reign of Henry II. 'Believe me',
he reminisced in his *Discours politiques* (1587), 'one would have spat in the
face of anyone who criticized or derogated them, so widely were they
used for instruction, entertainment and as subjects of conversation.'[39]
At exactly this time the Norman gentleman de Gouberville noted in
his diary calling together his household for a reading of *Amadis*, after
a day of pouring rain.[40] The tenacious popularity of the book is also
attested by their frequent mention in notarized sixteenth-century library
collections. The *Amadis* was not only popular but also influential: its role
as a pattern of fine literary style coined a verb and noun to describe
such usage: *amadiser* and *amadiseur*.[41]

The interest of *Amadis* does not lie solely in the extraordinary popularity
of a text now barely known and little studied. In its movement around
the Europe it reflects several of more general features of text migration
in the sixteenth century. Texts, it seems, moved easily between Spanish,
French and Italian. A large proportion of the works of fiction known
in French originated in southern Europe, and the same may be said
of works of devotion and popular theology. In the case of Italy, the
connections with France were so dense and intricate that this could
scarcely be a surprise. In the sixteenth as in the fifteenth century, Italy
provided many of the models for French cultural life.[42] French scholars
and literati looked naturally to the Italian book world for inspiration,
instruction and what was new and fashionable in the world of letters.
Thus, despite the fact that knowledge of Italian was not particularly
widely disseminated, the most systematic study of this theme has
counted more than four hundred texts translated into French from
Italian between 1570 and 1600.[43] The case of Spain is more complex,

---

[39] François de La Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires*, ed. F. E. Sutcliffe (Geneva, 1967).

[40] *Journal du sire de Gouberville* (4 vols., Bricqueboscq, 1993–4). Katherine Fedden, *Manor Life in Old France* (New York, 1933), p. 75.

[41] Mireille Huchon, 'Amadis, "parfaicte idée de nostre langue françoise", in *Les Amadis en France*, pp. 183–200.

[42] Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700* (London, 1953). For the political background to this movement see David Abulafia (ed.), *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–95* (Aldershot, 1995). R. J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France* (London, 1996).

[43] Balsamo, *Rencontres des muses*. See also his 'Traduire de l'Italien. Ambitions sociales et contraintes éditoriales a la fin du XVIe siècle', in Dominique de Courcelles (ed.), *Traduire et adapter à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1998), pp. 89–98.

and hence more interesting. Between France and Spain there were no great pre-existing cultural ties: indeed one might think of a barrier of hostility, which was maintained for much of the century thanks to the enduring rivalry between the French kings and Spain's Habsburg rulers. The success of the *Amadis*, and other Spanish texts, comes despite these political circumstances—which may help explain why the texts were carefully 'de-Hispanised'.

But linguistically there was no great obstacle to the translation of Spanish texts into French. The barriers to the movement of text between southern and northern Europe were more imposing—there was less facility in the translation of Spanish works into English, or German. In these cases French acted as an important intermediary language.

This movement of texts, though, often involved a process of transmutation. French audiences would be offered a very different text from those who had access to the Spanish original, and the same was true of those who read *Amadis* in Italian, German or Spanish. If one examines the French *Amadis* one finds indeed that the translator, Herberay, was an extremely gifted prose writer. But he did far more than render the Spanish text into French—rather he adapted and embroidered it very considerably to cater for French tastes.

What made de Herberay unusual among sixteenth century authors and translators was that he freely acknowledged that he had made changes to the text in his prologue. These changes do not have much effect on the overall plot, but they are significant. The final result, according to a careful study by John O'Conner, is a substantial change in characterization and tone—and therefore, one might say, of meaning.[44] Most of Herberay's changes, involved the addition of new material or elaborations of the existing text. These interpolations were generally of a rhetorical, erotic, or military sort. Never extensive enough to interrupt the narrative flow, they were apparently intended to render the Spanish romance less mediaeval. The elaborations on military matters may be due to Herberay's background, for he was an officer in the army of Francis I.

To illustrate this feature of the French *Amadis* one can choose one detailed example expounded by O'Conner. When in Book III, Lisuart turns his daughter Orianne over to the Roman ambassador who is to take her to Rome to marry the Emperor, the parting is treated in Spanish with dignified reticence. Herberay adds new dialogue between

---

[44] O'Connor, *Amadis*, pp. 131–147.

the two that considerably heightens the drama: Oriane theatens to kill herself and promises her father that despite all that he can do, she will never reach Rome alive. In Spanish, the primary emphasis is on a dignified, perhaps rather wooden, Court scene. In the French 'Lisuart and Orianne are humanized and universalized into obstinate father and rebellious daughter.'[45] Many of Herberay's additions are of this nature—interpolated dialogue that rounds out the character of the players. His enlargement of the erotic element suggests a further gulf in Spanish and French manners. In the Spanish sex is treated with a restraint that borders on prudery. In the French 'it is sometimes treated with a freedom that comes close to being licentious.'[46]

Anthony Munday's adaptations of Herberay's text for an English audience were more restrained, but in their own way equally interesting. His main intervention lies in careful excision of references that identify the text's original Catholic context. Thus references to the Mass, or to the Virgin Mary, are mostly removed.[47] The more extended battle narratives are somewhat compressed, but some compression was in any case necessary for a text intended for a shorter sequence of volumes in a smaller format. More interestingly Munday also frequently intervenes to tone down the manner in which sexual encounters are described. Whereas Herberay will address the act of sex with frank directness, Munday adopts greater reticence and euphemism. In this respect the English translation comes closer in tone to that of the Spanish original, though this seems to have been wholly unconscious. Munday would not have been able to read the Spanish text, even had he had access to it.

Although we are dealing here with literary texts, where some degree of licence may have been expected, these examples of translation as transmutation have a wider relevance. Students of sixteenth century religious works that found an international audience seldom study in detail whether text were changed, or remained faithful to the original text, in their new vernacular guise. Where such detailed studies have been attempted, as for instance with Catholic devotional texts translated from Spanish into English, there is evidence of very considerable adaptation.

---

[45] O'Connor, *Amadis*, pp. 133–4.
[46] O'Connor, *Amadis*, p. 138. On this point see also Yves Giraud, 'Galaor le gallant chevalier' in *Les Amadis en France*, pp. 95–109.
[47] Moore, *Amadis*, xxiv.

Those most conscious of these issues at the time seem to have been the translators themselves. Several in the 16th century quoted the graphic figure of Themistocles who compared translations to a rolled up tapestry. This was an image adapted by Cervantes when he placed in the mouth of Don Quixote the view that a book and a translation were like two sides of a tapestry—the one clear and well-ordered; the other blurred in outline, marred by thrums and knots. Beyond this, for a sense of a graduated hierarchy of translation that underlay the work of the translator we are forced to wait, at least in the English context, for the seventeenth century. Then the poet Dryden, himself no mean classical scholar, offers in his preface to Ovid's *Epistles* (1680), a distinction between three types of translation: metaphrase, translating an author word by word and line by line; paraphrase, translation with latitude, where the author's words are kept in view, but not so strictly followed as his sense; and imitation, where the translator assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and the sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion.[48] I suspect that most of the works with which we are dealing fall somewhat between the second and third case (like Herberay's *Amadis*). Even Dryden, in praising the fidelity of his own work (the implicit purpose of his definition) would admit that faithfulness to intention is more to be desired than strained and ragged exactness: 'Tis almost impossible to translate verbally, and well, at the same time.'[49]

Of course in most fields of literary endeavour theological accuracy was hardly an issue. One must keep in mind the intention of the author—more usually to bring a set of tales to an audience, than a text. One must remember also that these tales existed in a profoundly aural culture, where elaboration and variation would be part of the normal armoury of the gifted story-teller.

Nevertheless the fidelity of texts to their alleged original remains a real issue, particularly if one bears in mind that translations were made not only to bring text to audience, but as a pedagogic tool in their own right. We see this if we pass on from the *Amadis de Gaule* to

---

[48] 'John Dryden, On Translation', in J. Biguenet and R. Schulte, *Theory of Translation. An anthology of essays from Dryden to Derrida* (Chicago, 1992), p. 17. For an introduction to the copious modern literature on translation studies see R. Bell, *Translation and translating: theory and practice* (London, 1991); E. Gentzler, *Contemporary translation theories* (London, 1993); B. Hatim and I. Mason, *The translator as communicator* (London, 1996).

[49] 'Dryden, On Translation', p. 18.

the wider context of romantic literature, for the *Amadis* was only the
most famous of a number of romances that made their way from
the Spanish peninsula into the wider complex of European literature.
One of the most successful of these texts was the *History of Aurelio and
Isabella* of Juan de Flores, which made its way into French by 1520
and thence into English. But it was not until 1606 that an independent
English edition was published in London—the first rendering of the
story into English was in a four language edition published in Antwerp
in 1556.[50] The publication of such a work, simultaneously in Spanish,
Italian, French and English suggests that it was reckoned partly as
entertainment, and partly as a teaching tool for the merchant classes
and urban bourgeoisie—the publication in Antwerp, one of the most
cosmopolitan of European trading centres is here significant. That the
text had such a function is indicated by the existence of at least three
bilingual editions—in Italian and French—published in the first half
of the sixteenth century. A further edition in Spanish and French was
published in Antwerp in 1560.

That this linguistic pedagogic literature is so little studied today is
something of a mystery, for in the sixteenth century itself thousands
of volumes were published to serve those whose professional needs and
scholarly interests involved the mastery of several European vernacu-
lars. These works fall into two main categories, dictionaries, bilingual
or multi-lingual, the publication of which became a huge sixteenth
century industry; and handbooks or phrase books for businessmen and
travelers. These books were often strictly utilitarian: the publication of
the multi-lingual *Aurelio and Isabella*, in contrast, represented an ingenious
means of blending literature with instruction.

One could cite further examples of this phenomenon, such as Diego
de San Pedro's *Castle of Love*. This arrived in France, via the Italian
translation, before a new independent translation of the Spanish text
was published by Nicolas de Herberay, the translator of *Amadis*. In 1552
there was a two language edition in Spanish and French; in 1553 San
Pedro's *Arnaulte and Lucinda* was published in a parallel French/Italian
version in Lyon (the choice of venue was significant, since Lyon was
home to France's largest Italian merchant community).[51] In fact there

---

[50] *A paire of turtle doves, or the tragicall history of Bellora and Fidelio* (London, 1606). *STC*
11094. *Histoire de Aurelio et Isabelle…the historie of Aurelio and of Isabell, nyeuley tr. in foure
langagies* (Antwerp, 1556). *STC* 11092.
[51] *Petit traite de Arnalte et Lucenda. Picciol trattato d'Arnalte & di Lucenda* (Lyon, Arnoullet,
1553).

were at least eight editions in these two combinations, French/Spanish and French/Italian, published during the 16th century.[52] The first English edition of *Arnaulte and Lucinde* was derived from Herberay's French—a familiar story.[53] But in 1575 a new translation was made by the French Huguenot refugee schoolteacher Claude Holyband, in this case taken from the Italian translation of Marraffi.[54] The pedagogic purpose of this edition is clear from the fact that here the English and Italian texts were presented together in the same volume. *The Castle of Love* meanwhile, seems to have been one of the few texts that made its way directly into English from Spanish, and this as early as 1548.[55] The aristocratic translator, Lord Berners, had undoubtedly learned some Spanish as Henry VIII's envoy to Spain in 1518–19. At this early date he must have been one of the very few Englishmen of any social group who had this facility.

The two issues of bilingualism and language teaching are ones that bear further examination—they are of course closely related. But the brief enumeration of the variety of texts that found an audience in multiple languages will have been enough to indicate something of the complexities involved in the movement of text around Europe in the sixteenth century. Of course none of this would have been news to any of the scholars, merchants or educated citizens of the early modern period. The complex meanderings of which a early modern text was capable is summed up by the title page of a 1639 edition of *Arnalte and Lucenda*. This according to the author had been on a journey unusual even for these well-travelled and shop-worn works. For this translation was, according to the title-page:

> Originally written in the Greek tongue, by an unknown author. Afterwards translated into Spanish. After that, for the excellency thereof, into the French tongue by N.H. Next by B.M. into Tuscan (that is Italian) and now turned into English verse by L.L.[56]

How much of the original could have survived this Odyssey can only be imagined.

---

[52] *Arnalte et Lucenda*, ed. Duché-Gavet, xxxvi–xxxvii.
[53] *A certain treatye moste wyttely devised entitled Lamant mal traicte* (London, 1543?). *STC* 546.
[54] *The pretie and wittie historie of Arnalt & Lucenda* (London, 1575). *STC* 6758.
[55] *The castell of love* (London, 1548?). *STC* 21739.5.
[56] *STC* 778.

The era of the Reformation was a time of disruption for the intellectual life of Europe. In these troubled times members of Europe's intellectual communities cherished elements of the international scholarly environment that recalled better days, such as the Latinate literary culture that offered a vision of a holistic world of learning that made light of borders and theological divisions.[57] Even while the Protestant and Catholic scholarly worlds developed their own separate learned literature, other genres of writing and publication spoke in a different voice: one thinks here of the rising passion for Emblem books, with their enigmatic appeal to universal values, and their manuscript echo, the *Alba Amicorum*.[58]

The investigations pursued in this essay have demonstrated that even in the era of the most strident Reformation polemic the barricades and borders established were porous and permeable. Vernacular writings undoubtedly made a major contribution to building hostility and hatred between national communities in Europe's 'Divided House'.[59] But they also assisted, at a less tangible level, in spreading knowledge of alternative cultural traditions, through translations of literature. It is a little remarked irony, for instance, that in an era when Elizabethan England was adopting a wholly negative view of Spain as a fulcrum of Catholic conspiracy and threat to the survival of the nation, that English readers read works of prose fiction and devotional literature of Spanish origin in huge quantities. The same was even more the case with French readers, who devoured *Amadis* through an era of bitter conflict between the French crown and Habsburg rulers.

Scholars of sixteenth century literature, politics and society have scarcely begun to fathom the importance of these cross-cultural literary movements for the development of European society, a society that retained a complex web of interlocking connections even in an age of religious division and the growth of the nation state. In this respect the international success of the chivalric hero Amadis was a metaphor for much else in the developing intellectual culture of Renaissance Europe.

---

[57] For the enduring influence of Latin in the Early Modern era see Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004).

[58] Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles and Alison Saunders, *A bibliography of French emblem books* (2 vols., Geneva, 1999–2002). Alison Saunders, *The sixteenth-century French emblem book: a decorative and useful genre* (Geneva, 1988).

[59] The felicitous phrase coined by Diarmaid MacCulloch for his study of the Reformation. *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* (London, 2003).

PART III

PERSPECTIVES

THE REFORMATION AND THE BOOK.
A RECONSIDERATION
(with Matthew Hall)

There can be little doubt that the book was one of the great forces for change in sixteenth-century Europe. And at the centre of this lay the Reformation. The connection between the book and the Reformation seems so obvious that it needs little extra comment. The powerful impetus given to the spread of the new doctrines by the medium of print was widely recognised in its own day—indeed, part of Luther's great genius as a reformer was his speedy recognition of the power of the printed word to carry on his fight with the Papacy and articulate his theological precepts. Early critics within the church were first scandalised and then alarmed by Luther's blatant courting of a broad public through printed tracts and sermons. The connection between the book and the Reformation—in their eyes a malign one—was immediately obvious. And it has continued to be a cornerstone of historical interpretation from that day to this.[1]

It is not our intention in this reconsideration of these issues to offer any analysis that would deny this relationship—that is simply not possible. The evidence for the impact of the book on the Reformation (and perhaps less obviously, the impact of the Reformation on the book) is too overwhelming. But it is certainly possible to suggest that our broadest assumptions regarding the natural affinity between the evangelical movement and the medium of print are susceptible of some refinement. Here, based on a survey of the print world that extends beyond the immediate context of Luther's challenge to embrace the broader print culture of sixteenth-century Europe, we hope to offer some observations that will at least place the relationship between the book and the Reformation in a slightly different context.[2]

---

[1] As an introduction to this enormous literature, Mark J. Edwards, *Printing, propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, 1994). Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the book*, tr. Karin Maag (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1998).

[2] The responsibility of the two authors can be further specified as follows. The raw

This is important, because when we approach the question of the role of the book in the Reformation our assumptions regarding that relationship are based almost exclusively on analysis of the first decade, when Luther's message became a movement, and when the output of religious pamphlets in Germany was at its height. When we turn to other countries that experienced a successful or less successful Reformation we tend to carry these assumptions with us: that the book necessarily functioned as an agent of change and on the side of the critics of the old church. Our knowledge of the pamphlet wars of the 1520s also indelibly shapes our assumption of what was necessary, in printing terms, for a successful mass movement. We know that Luther's arguments quickly touched a nerve with a broad German public; and that printers in a large number of German cities easily seized on the opportunities presented by the resulting controversies to enter the market for vernacular *Flugschriften*. Yet it is by no means certain that assumptions developed through analysis of the first German decade can hold true for the Reformation elsewhere. Different parts of the European book market operated in quite different ways. Some lacked the industrial infrastructure either to service or inspire a broad public debate—even if that had been their wish.

These are important issues, if not always fully acknowledged in discussions of the play of ideas during the Renaissance and Reformation period. In our admiration for the genius of Luther, our recognition of the eloquent skills of those who took up his teachings, and those who (often with considerable courage) took up their pens to refute him, we sometimes forget that a text is not an autonomous object that simply finds its own readers. In the craft world of mediaeval Europe, from which the book industry had so recently emerged, nothing, in fact, could be farther from the truth. The manufacture, distribution and marketing of the printed word was as much an industrial as an intellectual process. Behind every Erasmus, or Luther, lay a small army of brawny artisans, who did hard, demanding work to turn an idea into an artefact. In the printing shops there were typesetters, pressmen and proofreaders, and behind them lay the typefounders in their foundry, not to mention the papermakers in their mills. And that was just to

---

data and the initial analysis of the study from the *Index Aureliensis* in section two of this paper are the responsibility of Matthew Hall. The two other sections and the overall interpretative framework are the work of Andrew Pettegree.

produce the sheets that made up the finished book. Between Luther and his readers lay another small army of merchants, booksellers and bookbinders—and as the trade spread through Europe, another small army of boatmen, hauliers and travelling salesmen came into play, to spread the message to its new readers.

Here I want to apply some of the insights that flow from the study of the book as an industrial product rather than simply as an intellectual process. This is a relatively new aspect of the discipline but in our view an urgent necessity, particularly in an age like our own when we simply assume the dominance of text-based information systems. If, at the same time, we broaden the scope of our investigation from Luther's Germany to other parts of the European world of print, we will see that the conditions for the successful conduct of such a business were not equally available in different parts of Europe—in fact, the dynamics of the book industry varied very markedly from country to country. This had the most profound implications for the likely success of a Reformation movement in different parts of the western Christian world.

I

First, however, let us turn our attention back to the Reformation heartland—the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire—and review briefly the dynamic of publishing in the first crucial years of Luther's movement. Here we see that the role of the printed book, particularly in the relatively new form of the pamphlet, was absolutely paramount in first creating public interest in the controversies surrounding Luther, then in moulding a coherent movement that looked to the Wittenberg reformer for inspiration and leadership. Contemporaries were well aware that in harnessing the previously rather formal, stolid world of the book to serve these ends evangelical critics of the Church had achieved something fundamentally new. A new form of book, the *Flugschriften*, came rapidly to dominate the output of German print-shops.[3] Demand for books expanded very rapidly after 1517, as religious debate engaged the interest of a new, largely non-clerical audience. An exceptionally

---

[3] Hans-Joachim Köhler, ed., *Fluschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart, 1981).

high proportion of these books addressed the new controversies: and in Luther, a writer of genius and extraordinary facility, Germany's publishers had found their ideal partner. Luther could write with phenomenal speed and quickly developed an extraordinary range, from the homiletic sermon, through excoriating satire, to careful, systematic exposition of complex theological issues.[4]

For a man in middle age, already twenty years into a successful and conventional career as preacher and theologian, this discovery of a popular voice was a quite extraordinary event; and one that truly shaped the Reformation. It also made fortunes for many in the book world. Those who were fortunate enough to be running the modest print shops of Wittenberg and Leipzig before 1517 were among the first to benefit; but they soon had to defend their profits against other eager entrepreneurs for whom the evidence of the phenomenal public interest in Luther spelt obvious opportunity. In ten years Wittenberg was transformed from a small outpost of the publishing world to one of the pillars of the German print industry: the lure of Luther's Gospel preaching brought not only students and intellectual disciples to the small Saxon town, but merchant entrepreneurs eager to share in the profits of bringing Luther's words to a wider public. They in turn recruited experienced artisans to man the new and expanding print-shops; the wily Lucas Cranach was on hand to supply the woodcuts that provided the Wittenberg *Flugschriften* with their distinctive decorated title-pages.[5] From the point of view of a new entrepreneurial industry, the *Flugschriften* were the ideal product: generally short, they were quick and simple to produce. Because of the high demand (and many of Luther's own writings went through multiple editions in the years immediately after their publication) they turned a far more rapid profit than was usual in the slow-moving world of the book, where classical and patristic editions might take some years to sell out. The profits flowing back to the Wittenberg print shops (though not to Luther) allowed the grateful publishers to embark on more ambitious projects, such as Luther's new Bible translation. Here, the level of investment required to turn out a long, complex book in the traditional folio format was

---

[4] The statistically dominant role of Luther in these years in demonstrated in the statistical analysis in Edwards, *Printing, propaganda*, pp. 14–40.

[5] *Cranach im Detail. Buchschmuck Lucas Cranachs des Älteren und seiner Werkstatt* (Austellung Lutherhalle Wittenberg, 1994).

very considerable: a book of this scale might be several months in the press, and required considerable investment capital to purchase paper and pay wages before there was any prospect of return. But even here the courageous entrepreneurs were well rewarded, as the Luther Bible became one of the publishing sensations of the century.[6] The experience of Wittenberg, where fortunes were made, was replicated on a smaller scale in other parts of the German Empire where more established print industries adapted their output to share in the profits of Luther's popularity: in Strasbourg, for instance, and in Basle.[7]

The tremendous energy of the German print industry in the 1520s is now rather taken for granted, though at the time it required a shift of orientation in the rather conservative world of German urban craft industry that was really rather remarkable: a plausible analogy might be the expansion of armaments production in the mid twentieth century as the industrial powers of Europe shifted to a war footing. Within a few years those involved in the German publishing trades found the capital, cast the new type, milled and supplied the paper, commandeered warehouse space and bookshops, and developed the distribution network to service an entirely new readership. Their success in this extraordinary business operation made possible the exposition of Luther's teachings to a hugely enlarged public: in the process it completely reshaped the world of the book, in Germany at least.

The experience of the German book-world in the 1520s would not in fact prove to be archetypal for Europe as a whole: this burst of intellectual energy and business creativity would not be widely replicated in other parts of Europe, for all that the religious stirs in Germany excited both curiosity and controversy. But the experience of Germany in the first years after Luther's defiant exposition of a radical theology of dissent has inevitably been the subject of a great deal of scholarly analysis, with the role of print well to the fore. This analysis, conducted not least on the basis of a thorough enumeration and analysis of the *Flugschriften*, has repeatedly highlighted several aspects of the Reformation print controversies, and this complex of issues had in effect

---

[6] Heimo Reinitzer, ed., *Biblia deutsch. Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition* (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 1983).

[7] Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Bibliography of Strasbourg imprints, 1480–1599* (Yale, 1982). Idem., *Conflicting visions of reform. German lay propaganda pamphlets, 1519–1530* (Boston, 1996).

become the paradigm for our understanding of the relationship between print and Reformation. The principal features of this understanding, what we may call the German paradigm, are as follows:

- Evangelical dominance of print
- Rapid spread of print to multiple printing centres; popular texts spread by local reprints
- Difficulty of control assisting spread of dissident ideas
- Victory of vernacular over Latin
- Importance of illustration in spreading message to the non-literate

All of these features of the movement are clearly a part of the German Reformation experience, particularly in the ten crucial years that followed Luther's first articulation of his theses on indulgences. In recent years a great deal of detailed work has refined our understanding of the conflict of print in these early years. It is now widely recognised that Catholic authors were not unaware of the need to challenge Luther—and did so, on occasions, with wit and style.[8] But there was still an enormous imbalance between evangelicals and defenders of the old Church in their access to print.[9] This was partly because of undoubted misgivings among supporters of the old church about the appropriateness of wide public debate on theological issues; but mostly, because of market demand. All statistical analysis undertaken demonstrates the extent to which Luther and his allies dominated—one might almost say swamped—the book market in Germany between 1520 and 1526. The demand for Luther's writings was apparently inexhaustible, and swiftly came also to embrace those who took up their pens to support the Wittenberg reformer. This body of writings is impressive both for its sheer extent, and for its variety: sermons, satirical tracts, dialogues and manifestos for reform all vied for the interest of the discerning purchaser.

  The same can be said of other aspects of the paradigm set out above. The Wittenberg printers enjoyed the priceless privilege of having first access to Luther's new writings, but they could not control reprints in

---

[8] David V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's earliest opponents. Catholic controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis, 1991). Frank Aurich, *Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Dresden. Die Emserpresse, 1524–1526* (Dresden, 2000).

[9] Mark U. Edwards, 'Catholic controversial literature, 1518–1555: some statistics', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 79 (1988), pp. 189–205.

other parts of the extended network of the German cities where interest in the Reformation proved so intense. With small texts for which there was very heavy demand, market factors spoke strongly for quick, local reprints, rather than transporting large quantities of copies from a single production centre—and this is what occurred. The complexity of political jurisdiction in the patchwork of secular and ecclesiastical territories and Imperial Free cities would in any case have made the enforcement of copyright a forlorn hope; equally it rendered hopeless the attempt by Charles V and others to restrict expressions of support for the Reformation. The print trade had, until this point, been as well controlled as many other new or experimental technologies in the European craft world, not least to protect the interests of investors. It is in this respect a fallacy to regard censorship as a force imposed by government on an unwilling industry—most demand for control came from within the industry itself. But in the era of the Reformation, the print world of the Empire escaped this apparatus of control. The combination of market forces and Germany's particular political make-up made effective control of output impossible.

The Reformation also witnessed a significant development in the emergence of new sorts of vernacular print. Books in the vernacular were of course a familiar feature of the first age of print (1470–1520), and many lay people possessed some books. But the Reformation was the first real challenge to the dominance of Latin in several critical genres: theology, Biblical and critical scholarship, and history. When contemporaries remarked—often with regret and alarm—on the new phenomenon of books that mixed satire, invective and teaching in a powerful (or poisonous) cocktail in the common tongue of the laity, they were, as so often, correct to identify a fundamental change in the terms of religious debate. The disadvantage Luther's opponents were under was reinforced by their reluctance to be seen to endorse this change by trading arguments and insults in the common tongue. Soon though, satire moved beyond words to scabrous illustrations and broadsheets that mixed text and picture; meanwhile Luther's image was promoted in multiple woodcuts that emphasised the dignity and simplicity of the learned monk.[10] Whether these images played a real role in spreading the ideas of the Reformation to parts of the population that did not read is less certain—though it is frequently asserted that woodcuts did

---

[10] Martin Warnke, *Cranachs Luther. Entwürfe für ein Image* (Frankfurt, 1984).

act as the crucial link in the chain that spread the Reformation message across a broad mass of the population.[11]

So our understanding of the relationship between the book and the Reformation is based on solid foundations. The difficulty emerges when we treat this analysis of the impact of print in the particular context of Germany in the 1520s as normative for the experience of Reformation in other European lands.

II

We propose to develop this argument by introducing material derived from a general survey of European print culture based on an analysis of some 10,000 consecutive entries from the *Index Aureliensis*. The *Index Aureliensis* was a project initiated in the 1960s as an attempt at a global survey of sixteenth-century printed books. It lists all books known to the editors, wherever printed, ordered alphabetically by author. The project made slow progress, and in forty years has advanced only as far as the letter D. The list seems to have been compiled through a process of conflating largely familiar library catalogues, such as the printed catalogue of the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The records do not seem to have been refined by examination of copies to distinguish different editions or states; nor has the list been enhanced by incorporation of records from manuscript catalogues. It is in consequence very incomplete and has to some extent been superseded by more recent, systematic projects such as the *VD16* for Germany and the *Typographia Batava* and *Belgica Typographia* for the Low Countries.

The *Index Aureliensis* is manifestly a bibliographical project of a different, pre-digital age; in the third section of this article we will introduce some more refined data from a more modern national bibliographical project (for France) which does make extensive use of more modern on-line resources. But for all its faults the *Index Aureliensis* remains the only project that attempts a global survey of all European print; for that reason it remains useful for precisely the sort of sampling that has been attempted here.

---

[11] Robert W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk. Popular propaganda for the German reformation* (Cambridge, 1981).

Some years ago one of the authors, Matthew Hall, entered into a rudimentary database a sequence of 10,000 entries from the *Index Aureliensis*. He then analysed this data according to a variety of criteria: language, format, date and place of publication.[12] The patterns that emerge paint a fascinating picture of a global world of print that was remarkable for the contrasting ways in which the industry was organised in different parts of Europe.

Tables 1 and 2 show the basic data for place and language of publication. There are few surprises here. We see that the print world of the sixteenth century continued to be dominated by the three great powerhouses that had emerged in the first age of print: The Empire, particularly the southern German cities; Italy, and France. Here lay most of Europe's most prestigious universities, and the major concentrations of great cities: together these two comprised both the major providers and consumers of books. The emergence of Antwerp as an economic and cultural force in the sixteenth century cements the place of the Netherlands in the second rank of European print culture alongside Spain and England; other peripheral cultures lag far behind.

Thus far our survey reveals much what one might expect: that books over the length of the sixteenth century were published conveniently close to their main markets, and that these lay in the complex of European conurbations north and south of the Alps, and east and west of the Rhine. But what these initial figures do not reveal is that behind all of these emerging national print cultures lay a rather separate dynamic. This is true even of the three dominant markets of Italy, France and Germany.

We see this clearly when we turn to Table 3, which lists the number of printing centres in each national market. This figure is very high for Germany, where an exceptionally large number of cities at some stage during the sixteenth century boasted a printing press. The number is high also for Italy and France; England, on the other hand provides evidence of a printing press in only a handful of different towns (and few of these in fact operated continuously throughout the sixteenth century). This contrast is even starker if we confine our attention only to places that turn up a significant number of books in our sample (Table 4—here we have listed only places which are named as place

---

[12] Matthew Hall, 'European print culture in the sixteenth century: A sample from the *Index Aureliensis*' (Unpublished St Andrews University M. Litt. dissertation, 2001).

of publication in more than 30 books). Here the Empire is revealed as being in a category all of its own: no other print world relied on so diverse a range of significant printing centres. In England, the starkest contrast, only one place (London) is revealed as significant in the terms of our sample; and even France, where books are at some point printed in a huge number of different places during the course of the century, reveals a very high measure of concentration. This finding is confirmed by our more refined ongoing survey of the world of French print, which forms the basis of the analysis in the last part of this paper.

The true extent of the contrasting organisation or different national print cultures emerges most starkly if we turn to Table 5, which deals with the relationship between the dominant print centre in each part of Europe and other satellite publishing towns. To probe the relationship between the centre and periphery, we calculated the proportion of the books printed in each print zone that emanated from the largest centre of printing. This calculation reveals the full extent of the variation in organisational models. One may in effect identify three different experiences. Firstly we have print cultures in which the centre is totally dominant. This is true of England, and some of the very small peripheral print cultures. Then there are a number of examples characterised by what one might call the partially dominant centre. There is one predominant centre of print, but also other significant printing centres which carve out either an independent existence, at a rather more modest level that the main centre (this characterises the relationship between Paris and Lyon in France) or a significant niche market. Aside from France, the Low Countries, Italy and the Swiss Confederation—all important centres of print culture—all conform to this partially dispersed model.

The fully dispersed model is most clearly represented by the experience of Germany, where there is no one main centre of print: here, indeed, the output of the largest centre of print in the Empire comprises no more than 13% of the total, as against 53% for Paris in France and 97% for London in England. The totally dispersed model characteristic of the Empire in fact finds an echo only in Spain, a secondary, though still important centre of print. In this respect then Germany, far from being normative for sixteenth-century book world, was in fact highly exceptional.

It is only in the last few years that the value of this sort of bibliometric research has really begun to be appreciated by students of the intellectual culture of the Renaissance. Even now, it may not be immediately

obvious why it was so important where, within a particular nation or language market, books were published. The critical importance of these different organisational models only become clear if one recognises that each model created its own dynamic for the local book world.

England, for instance, was both a comparatively small market, and one wholly dominated by the centre. The English were not major producers of books for a number of reasons. England was a largely rural society, it had only two universities, and its population was relatively modest: around 3 million in 1500, against the 15 million of France. Intellectually as well as geographically it lay on the periphery of the main cultural and intellectual streams of European society, at the beginning of the sixteenth century at least. In consequence it played little part in the wider book culture of the continent: the relatively small number of books published in England were overwhelmingly for home consumption. This was a small book industry, where everybody would have been known to everybody else, and where the amount of work available to individual printers was heavily dominated by official commissions. This was not a difficult industry to control, partly because the printers all lived and worked cheek by jowl in one city, but also because none wanted to risk compromising their chance of official patronage. If that were not enough, England had no indigenous paper production; all the paper used by English printers had to be imported through the well-regulated ports.[13] All of these factors made clandestine printing very difficult. It was partly for these practical reasons that dissident publications—in the early Reformation Protestant, later in the century Catholic—were by and large published abroad and then smuggled back into the country. In fact there was very little unauthorised printing in England at any point during the sixteenth century; the sort of explosion of popular demand that Germany witnessed in the 1520s would simply not have been possible.[14]

In France, the largest market, Paris, was very closely regulated, but other alternative centres of French print did exist—not least Lyon, always happy to steal a march on its larger rival. The Netherlandish book market was very large, proportional to the size of the population,

---

[13] John Bidwell, 'French paper in English books', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, eds., *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain. Vol. 4 1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 583–601.

[14] Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: the English exception', chapter thirteen in this volume.

but also rigorously controlled. The Netherlandish regime of Charles V introduced some of the most draconian legislation for book censorship anywhere in Europe. The impact of this was somewhat ameliorated by Antwerp's position as a major international trading metropolis—the sheer scale of trade made the movement of books more difficult to control.

These different print cultures evince considerable variation in their mode of organisation, but all of these descriptions tend to confirm the exceptionalism of the German market. Here a large number of significant centres of printing, all relatively close to one another, rendered control of output and distribution exceptionally difficult. The nearest equivalent is found in a later age—the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century—where the ruling authorities faced similar difficulties in establishing any real control over the expression of opinion in print. In sixteenth-century Germany this problem is compounded by the existence of a multiplicity of ruling powers.

But the rather lax regulation of print in Germany evident in the early sixteenth century is very much the exception. Elsewhere, strong pressures for regulation of print came both from the government, wishing to control the expression of dissident opinion, and from within the industry itself. It is in this respect inaccurate to talk of censorship, because most curbs on freedom of production were entered into willingly by printers and publishers, who had no wish to see unauthorised editions spoil their market. These pressures were far less acute in Germany in the 1520s when the market itself was both large and growing rapidly.

All of these observations have proceeded from an assumption of markets driven by a large public interest in vernacular print. This is certainly the assumption underlying our analysis of the polemical battles of the German Reformation: that Luther's protest unlocked a new market for religious and political debate among the laity, and that this was pursued essentially through the local vernacular (or, if we think of Low German as a separate tongue, vernaculars). But the world of the Latin book should not be ignored. It may not be immediately clear why we should offer more than a cursory glance at Latin books, since our paradigm of the book and the Reformation assumes the easy dominance of the vernacular. But a consideration of the statistics gathered from our trial survey of European print culture suggests that the importance of Latin publishing can scarcely be ignored.

For, if we consider merely the raw figures presented in Table 2, over half the books published during the century were in Latin, rather than

one of Europe's vernacular languages. The startling significance of this must be emphasised: taking the Reformation century as a whole, works published in Latin still outnumbered books published in all other languages put together. In the first half of the century, despite the undoubted impact of the German *Flugschriften*, Latin retained an easy dominance of the European world of print; indeed, if we are to believe our more detailed analysis, it is only towards the very end of the century that vernacular publishing began first to match and then to overtake publishing in Latin.

It is worth pausing a moment to consider why this should be so. There is no doubt that Latin publishing continued to dominate the market for books in Europe's universities and other branches of learned and scientific culture. Even in markets where, and with revolutionary impact, the Reformation was beginning to engage a new audience, Latin still remained the language of debate among trained theologians. It goes without saying that Luther could not have hoped to gain converts among his intellectual peers had he not also been a skilled Latin author. The growth of counter-churches also stimulated a vast controversial and exegetical literature in the learned languages. Beyond this, there were vast areas of the book world where the vernacular made comparatively little impact. Scientific, legal and medical texts remained predominantly in Latin. Interest in the classical authors remained high throughout the century, and this ensured another strong market for Latin print. Interestingly, Latin also played a predominant role in many areas where the book made the greatest strides during the sixteenth century: one thinks here of the relatively new genres of books, such as technical books, books on architecture, astrology & cosmography, or the natural sciences. These were genres that relied heavily on the illustrative potential of the woodcut, but they were not for that reason more popular genres. On the contrary, the claim to respectability on the part of the new sciences relied heavily on use of the learned language: these relatively innovative printing projects were therefore published predominantly in Latin. One is forced to conclude that in the book world as a whole, the importance of Latin was not much diminished by popular religious controversy. Latin remained the badge of honour that distinguished the man of culture.

An inevitable consequence is that while the vernacular texts of Reformation polemic are those which have caught the eye, Latin publishing continued to loom large in the financial considerations of anyone concerned with the business of books. Crucially for our investigations,

the publication of books in Latin was structured in a totally different way from the output of vernacular books (see table 6). There were major centres of Latin print in most of the significant centres of printing in continental Europe: in France, the Netherlands, Germany and the Swiss Confederation. There were surprisingly few Latin books published in Italy and Spain. Meanwhile, English consumers of Latin books, as we can see from the miniscule numbers published in London, relied almost wholly on imports (as they had, indeed, in the manuscript era).[15]

If we now look behind these broad national markets to a closer investigation of the publication of Latin books, we can see that the European market for learned print was organised in a very particular way, and one that contrasts markedly with the production of vernacular texts. In general terms, a very high proportion of Latin books were published in a small number of Europe's largest centres of print. Places like Basle in the Swiss Confederation, Lyon and Paris in France and Antwerp in the Low Countries became renowned centres of Latin print. The reasons for this heavy degree of market concentration were both economic and aesthetic. Many of these Latin books were large, complex and therefore expensive projects. Editions of the classics might use many different fonts of type to distinguish text, textual variations, side-notes and footnotes. The Renaissance concern for textual accuracy imposed a heavy burden of expectation: the books themselves were usually published in large formats and in a pleasing italic type. The new genres of book that enjoyed a growing vogue in the sixteenth century, such as architectural texts or books on botany, also often required considerable specialist expertise, not least in crafting the illustrative woodcuts that were fundamental to their success.

These were difficult, expensive projects, that could only as a rule be taken on by experienced printers, and in well-capitalised publishing houses. These tended to be found in the largest and best-financed centres of European printing. Further, if the initial expense tended to militate against the involvement of smaller printing shops, the same economic considerations militated against local reprints. The market for Latin books in Europe was clearly very large, but it was also very dispersed. It therefore inevitably worked to somewhat different rules

[15] Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of printed books into England and Scotland', in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain. Vol. III: 1400–1557* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 179–201.

from the more concentrated national print markets. Books tended to be moved over longer distances to their purchasers. Because the projects were larger, and involved heavier initiation costs, publishers tended to print larger editions, and expected to stockpile copies for longer before an edition was exhausted. All of this played into the hands of the industry's most established figures. There was much less room for alert, speculative players intent on a quick profit by exploiting a sudden rise in demand—the classic model of the German Reformation.

Before moving to draw further conclusions from this sketch of Latin print, a word of caution should perhaps be entered. It might well be argued that the bare figures presented here might misrepresent the whole world of print culture in this one, important respect: for it is very obvious that big books survive much better than small books. It is almost certainly the case that these differential survival rates weigh the odds heavily in favour of Latin, the learned language. We are likely to have at least one surviving copy of almost all the books published in Latin during the sixteenth century; one can certainly not say the same of all books, pamphlets and broadsheets published in the vernacular.

The evidence for this simple statement is overwhelming. Latin books were by and large published to be studied, and to be preserved; many items published in the vernacular, whether these be broadsheets, pamphlets or small handbooks, were not. The fact that a very high proportion of all vernacular pamphlets published in the sixteenth century survive in only one, two or three copies, suggests that a large number must have been published which do not survive at all. If we regard any book published, whether it be a single sheet broadsheet or a large folio of four hundred leaves, as a single bibliographical item, the raw figures from the *Index Aureliensis* must greatly understate the quantity of vernacular publishing.

To balance this, one should note that Latin books are on the whole much larger. This is true in all respects. A high proportion of Latin books are in the larger formats (folio or quarto); Latin books are on the whole much longer. On the other side an overwhelming proportion of printed items of two sheets or less (that is, broadsheets or pamphlets of thirty-two pages or less in octavo) were in the vernacular. From the point of view of printer and publisher this was an absolutely crucial distinction. A broadsheet proclamation was a valuable commission for a printer (since it was often produced for a single official purchaser, and therefore helped cash flow) but it was only one day's work. A

major Latin edition might employ the press—and often more than one
press—for months at a time.

Thus to understand the real impact of Latin publishing on the
European world of print, one has to look not only at the raw data of
numbers of editions, but at the length of books, and thus at the amount
of time they would have occupied the presses. Paris, for instance, was
a major centre of Latin print. Judging from an analysis of the books
listed by Bridget Moreau in her bibliography of books published in
Paris 1500–1535, Latin books commanded the market throughout the
period: about 75% of all books published in Paris during this time were
in Latin.[16] Furthermore, and despite the upsurge of popular religious
controversy that followed the Reformation, the proportion of books
published in Latin in Paris was in no way diminished towards the end
of this period. Given that many of these projects were very substan-
tial and ambitious books, intended for an international as much as a
local market, it is very likely that the average Paris print shop would
have been dominated by the demand for Latin print. It is more than
likely that during this whole period Paris's presses spent on average less
than 15% of their time—one day in a six day week—printing works
in French.

This has many important implications for our study of the
Reformation. It certainly should warn us that when Protestants, for
their own purposes, began to promote the idea of the greater dignity
and nobility of the vernacular, they were arguing very much against the
grain of sixteenth-century culture. And while the rise of the *Flugschriften*
created and developed other new markets for books in Europe, it did
little to dent the appeal of the existing market for Latin books—in fact,
the two markets seem to have grown together as the century wore on.
For Europe's printers and publishers, in particular, the Reformation was
not a lifeline; indeed, for many in the most established print centres,
away form the immediate turmoil of Luther's movement, it represented
a considerable complicating factor. We can see this clearly if we turn
to an investigation of one particular market, France, where the impact
of the Reformation on a sophisticated and complex book world was
very different from that in Luther's own homeland.

---

[16] Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle, 1501–1535*
(4 vols., Paris, 1972–92).

III

With France we turn to a particular focus of our recent scholarly interest, and to research undertaken partly to test the wider applicability of the German paradigm of book and Reformation set out above. France was a country with a mature, robust printing industry. It also experienced a genuine, popular Reformation, albeit a generation later than Germany: in the early 1560s, when the rapid growth of the Huguenot movement was a major contributing factor to the extended political and religious crisis we know as the French Wars of Religion. What, it is fair to ask, was the contribution of printing to this complex of events? How far did France's experience of print and the Reformation parallel that of Luther's homeland?

To address this issue we are able here to draw on a major new research project that will, in due course, shed a great deal of new light on French print culture in the sixteenth century. During the last ten years a group of graduate students and researchers at the University of St Andrews have been engaged in creating a new database of books printing in French during the sixteenth century. With the help of a programme of visits to libraries throughout France and elsewhere in Europe, this work has now gathered information on about 52,000 editions.[17] What is presented here is based on a preliminary analysis of this data.

In the first days of the stirs raised by Luther, news of the controversies did not take long to reach France. The enterprising Swiss publisher Froben reported brisk sales in Paris for his early (Latin) edition of Luther's collected writings in 1519, and the distinguished university in Paris became a critical early test case for the wider appeal of Luther's teachings.[18] Throughout the 1520s, in fact, one can gather plentiful evidence of interest both in the issue of church reform, and in German events. But for all that the movement in France did not achieve the same coherence and potency as was the case in its German homeland.

There were several reasons why this proved to be the case. Firstly, the French authorities took swift action to contain publication and

---

[17] Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

[18] For the early history of Luther reception in France see Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva, 1979).

distribution of evangelical print. Paris, as we have seen, was one of
largest centres of Europe's publishing industry, but it was also one of
the best organised and most tightly controlled. Parisian printers were
not free to engage in the speculative publication of translated reprints
of the German *Flugscriften*, even had they wished to—and there is little
reason to believe that established members of the Paris book world
would have turned from the lucrative, mainly Latin works that were
the mainstay of their business without the assurance of either official
encouragement or overwhelming public demand. Neither, in fact, was
forthcoming. For in France, Luther's struggle was not a national, patriotic
issue: a crucial element in the early drama of public support for Luther
in Germany was missing. In fact, in the particular context of France,
national, patriotic factors tended to militate against Luther's movement,
since the identification of the crown with a Catholic, Gallican church
was a crucial source of strength for the established order. French evan-
gelicals had hopes that they could manoeuvre through these shoals, by
converting the king's undoubted interest in Renaissance scholarship into
a genuine interest in Church reform, but this called for a subtle process
of lobbying in private and at court. The raising of popular passions
would only damage this cause.

    Thus in France the political context was entirely different from that
in Luther's own homeland; but so too was the degree of resonance
that the Reformation found, both among churchmen, and the public
at large. Striking in our analysis of the output of French books in
the 1520s, is the swift and effective Catholic response to the evangeli-
cal criticism emanating from Germany. This, of course, provides an
instructive contrast with Germany, which is further reinforced when
we delve a little more deeply into the type of works published against
Luther in France—and in French—in the years immediately after
the Reformation controversies. The campaign against Luther was led
from the beginning by doctors of the Sorbonne who, like Luther on
the other side, quickly found an effective popular voice. These authors
also swiftly identified themes important to French Catholics that had
to be defended, foremost among them the Catholic Mass. Both these
factors are epitomised in the career of Pierre Doré, Dominican and
Doctor of Theology, and a man now little known outside the narrow
world of scholarly specialists. But in his day he was one of the most
popular religious writers in France: his 56 known editions of 24 different
works place him ahead of Luther in the popularity of religious writ-

ers who published in French.[19] In purely statistical terms only Calvin
would surpass his impact on the world of French vernacular religious
publishing in the first half of the sixteenth century. Luther, of course,
laboured under a considerable handicap, in that his works were offi-
cially outlawed. All the works of Luther that appeared in French were
printed with greater or lesser degree of subterfuge, and Luther was
never named on the title-page.[20] Pierre Doré, in contrast, enjoyed the
support of major Parisian printing houses.

We have then to recognise that the overwhelming superiority evan-
gelicals enjoyed in the polemical battle in Germany simply did not carry
over into other European print cultures. From the earliest days of the
Reformation controversies, in France Catholic authors at least matched
the church's critics in their output of popular theological works, and
this continued to be the case for all but a short period in mid-century
when the Huguenot surge was at its most intense. There were many
reasons for this, not least the early ban on Lutheran publications in
France, and the reluctance of Parisian printers to involve themselves in
risky disapproved projects. But the extent of popular demand for books
defending familiar, popular beliefs can also not be doubted.[21]

Nevertheless, it is certainly the case that in their eagerness to defend
the church from foreign heresies, the French authorities took one deci-
sion that ultimately was to prove very damaging. In 1526, spurred by
evidence that the call for the pure Gospel, *rein Evangelium* had become
a powerful polemical tool in Germany, the Parisian authorities ordered
a ban on publication of vernacular scripture in France.[22] One can
only imagine the frustration of Parisian printers. Already, not least in
the popularity of the New Testament of Lefèvre, there was plentiful
evidence that editions of the Bible in French would constitute a major
market. And Parisian printers had the equipment, technical skill and
resources to produce large, illustrated books, of the sort that would

---

[19] On Doré see Francis Higman, *Piety and the people. Religious printing in French, 1511–1551* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1996), pp. 5, 177–190.

[20] Bernd Moeller, 'Luther in Europe: his works in translation, 1517–1546', in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott, eds., *Politics and society in Reformation Europe* (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 235–251. Francis Higman, 'Les traductions françaises de Luther, 1524–1550, in his *Lire et découvrir. La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva, 1998), pp. 201–232.

[21] Issues effectively explored in Christopher Elwood, *The Body broken. The Calvinist doctrine of the Eucharist and the symbolization of power in sixteenth-century France* (Oxford, 1999).

[22] Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne*, pp. 26–7.

be required for the most lavish Bible editions. But the printers fell
reluctantly into line. Too many had too much to lose by defying the
king—and Bibles were not the sort of books that could be produced in a
clandestine way. So the production of vernacular Bibles took place away
from Paris—first in Antwerp, then in Lyon, and finally in Geneva.[23]
In Geneva, the publication of multiple editions of the Bible in French
became one of two cornerstones of the Genevan book market—the
other being the works of Calvin.

Calvin began to make himself felt in the French publishing world
from the early 1540s.[24] Like Luther, the Genevan reformer showed
an acute awareness of the need to nurture relationship with printers.
In the 1540s, the first decade after he was permanently established in
Geneva, Calvin published many short, popular works. The success of
these sharp, pungent polemical tracts helped to finance other major proj-
ects, such as editions of his Biblical commentaries and the *Institutes*. As
Geneva became known as centre of Protestant print, the new industry
attracted a number of members of major Parisian printing dynasties.
They brought with them capital, skill, and expertise in handling large
projects. Soon, the Genevan publishing industry was one of the most
dynamic industries in a fast-growing town. Here the comparison with
Wittenberg is very close. The education industry—that is, publishing
and the university (in the Genevan case, the Academy)—was a corner-
stone of economic growth. It is not always acknowledged the extent to
which fortunes were made through the Reformation (though one only
has to go and stand outside Lucas Cranach's house in Wittenberg for
the point to be abundantly clear). So it was in Geneva. Calvin was one
of the most talented preachers and authors of the day. But he was also
very good for business.

Back in France, the debate inspired by the Reformation continued to
rage. Evangelicals had high hopes of the king, and particularly of the
king's sister. But after 1535 the commitment of the Crown to suppress
heresy never really wavered. Protestantism became an underground
movement. For all that, by the 1550s it had become increasingly clear
that the policy of repression had failed. Prosecutions and executions had
not prevented the steady growth of evangelical communities, inspired

---

[23] B. T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French-
language editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983).
[24] Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé* (Geneva, 1997).

and strongly supported from Geneva. In 1559 the then king, Henry II, made peace with Spain, intending to devote his attention to the final suppression of heresy. But his death in a freak accident plunged France into political crisis, and evangelicals, together with their sympathisers at Court, seized the moment.

The result was that France experienced in the next 6 years (1560–1565) a genuine popular Reformation. The explosive growth of the Calvinist movement during these years stands comparison with Germany during first years when Luther's message found a mass audience (1520–1525). Churches grew from small underground cells to large congregations, a mass movement that enjoyed the support of 50% of the French nobility and 25% of the urban population. Most important of all for the gathering political crisis was the rate of growth, and the obvious self-confidence of the movement. As in Germany in the 1520s, no-one knew where it would end. The potential seemed boundless.

As in Germany, this new popular Protestantism was accompanied by a surge of printing. As part of our wider survey of French print culture, the St Andrews project has made a special study of Protestant printing in the French language, charting growth from the first tentative evangelical works in French in 1520, through to the end of the century and the end of the religious wars. This has, for the first time, created the secure statistical base with which we can compare the French experience of evangelical print with that of Germany. There are important points of comparison, but also of difference.

Firstly, this statistical work brings home the importance of this extraordinary burst of energy and excitement in the early 1560s. Over thirty per cent of all Protestant works published in French during the sixteenth century appeared during the years 1560–1565. This was the only point in the century at which French Protestants outpublished their Catholic opponents. This surge in demand also demanded rapid reorganisation of the means of production. With events moving so fast, Geneva was too far away from the major markets within France to meet demand for small political and religious tracts, editions of the Bible and psalms. New centres of Protestant publication grew up in Caen, Orléans and Lyon.[25]

---

[25] Chapters three and four in this volume. Louis Desgraves, *Elie Gibier imprimeur à Orléans (1536–1588)* (Geneva, 1966).

For all that, French Catholics marshalled a robust defence of their church, and of traditional beliefs. In France, Protestants never wholly dominated the world of print. By 1562, after the initial shock of adapting to the new political climate, Catholic authors had found their voice, pouring out a flood of tracts which both offered a lucid and eloquent defence of the essentials of the Catholic faith and poured scorn on Calvin.[26] The printing houses of Paris gave themselves very willingly to this polemical effort, for the Catholic hold on Paris was never shaken. This may well have been crucial to the survival of French Catholicism. When the royal government, led by Catherine of Medici, felt itself so weakened that concessions to the Huguenots seemed inevitable, it was the Catholic populations of Paris and other cities that made it clear that this was unacceptable.[27] Spurred by their preachers, inspired by the scabrous sermons and religious literature, they rallied to those who identified with the cause of resistance, notable the house of Guise. Ultimately war broke out in 1562 because French Catholics would not accept crown concessions to Protestants. Catholicism in France was a popular cause.

Once war broke out, Catholics soon gained the upper hand, both in military terms, and in the polemical battle. The momentum of Protestant growth was decisively arrested by the events of the first war (1562–1563), and Protestantism was in decline even before the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572. By the second decade of the war, the polemical battle was less one between the faiths—the Huguenots had conceded that the conversion of France was beyond them—and more one within Catholicism: between those who prepared to offer some toleration to the increasingly embattled Huguenot movement, and those who favoured a policy of extermination.

French Protestantism, then, ultimately failed, and for reasons which had much to do with the local culture of religion. Despite its failure—indeed, perhaps because of the contrast it provides in this respect with Germany—it still provides material for an important case study. Looking primarily at the brief period of hectic evangelical growth between 1559 and 1565, what can we say of relationship revealed between print culture and belief in the particular French context?

---

[26] Luc Racaut, *Hatred in print: Catholic propaganda and Protestant identity during the French wars of religion* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 2002).

[27] Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the cross. Catholics and huguenots in sixteenth-century Paris* (New York, 1991).

We can see that, as in Germany, the opportunity of sudden wide-spread popular interest brought a rapid re-structuring of the French print world. As demand for Protestant books increased exponentially in the years after 1559, new printing centres swiftly emerged to cater to the demand: often in French towns that had until this point played only a modest role in French print culture. The content and tone of these books also bears closer examination, for in these years when the churches expanded most rapidly the movement was far less closely controlled from Geneva. The Genevan reformers were too geographically distant to react to the speed of change in political events, or the raging religious debate. Genevan publications were noticeably more measured in tone than the more polemical works published in France during these years. In the new print centres within France, we notice that each different place has its own distinctive style. There is a high degree of specialism between different publishing centres.

Nevertheless, it is clear that, in France at least, a local print industry was not essential to the rapid growth of an evangelical movement. The Huguenot movement made some of its most rapid and enduring progress away from Paris, in the far south, where towns like Nîmes, Montpellier and Montauban swiftly became important strongholds of the new movement. None of these towns ever developed a substantial indigenous printing industry.[28] In these cases, it seemed, the supply lines from Geneva and Lyon were adequate to supply the books required by these new congregations.

These observations direct our attention to other important aspects of the relationship between the book and the Reformation that have proved most elusive to scholarly investigation. What can we say about the reasons why people adhered to the new churches? Obviously here a whole range of stimuli played a part: charismatic preaching, peer pressure, the example of a family member or social superior. But in the realm of the book, it is particularly clear that in the French example, verse and song played a crucial role in creating a popular movement. We see this at work at two levels. Contemporary observers were certainly aware of the particular role of the psalms in creating Huguenot

---

[28] Philip Conner, *Huguenot heartland: Montauban and southern French Calvinism during the French wars of religion* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 2002). Id., 'A provincial perspective: Protestant print culture in southern France', in Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Philip Conner, eds., *The Sixteenth century French religious book* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 2001), pp. 286–302.

group solidarity. The metrical Psalter was an original, inspired creation of Calvinism. The product of twenty years of development in the Genevan church, the full translation of the psalms was finally completed in 1562: just in time to play its part in the largest movement of church forming. The metrical Psalter proved to be a marvellously adaptable, as well as distinctive tool of church building. The psalms were suitable both for communal worship and for use outside the church. There were psalms for all moods and occasions. Since the psalms were set to an unusually wide repertoire of tunes, the association of tune and words was very close. Since they were rapidly memorised, not least through repeated use in the churches, they formed a crucial bridge in building the movement from a literate core to the wider population.[29] Alongside the psalms the Huguenots popularised a range of political and satirical songs often put to the tunes of well-known psalms. These songs ridiculed the Catholic clergy and Catholic political leadership, while praising Protestant champions like Condé and Coligny. Others were penned to celebrate Protestant victories on the field of battle, or the takeover of French cities. These too helped create popular momentum at moments of maximum excitement.

It is important to dwell on this point, not least because historians of the Reformation have consistently undervalued the importance of song in sixteenth-century culture, and paid scant attention to its role as a tool of the Reformation. In France it was clearly crucial: the illustrative woodcut, on the other hand, played no role whatsoever. Much has been written about the use of visual material to bridge the gap between the literate and the unlettered. It has become a common assumption, as those of us who teach undergraduates know, that the evangelical message crossed the barrier between the literate and illiterate with the help of visual culture. To our very visual age this seems a natural assumption; and perhaps for that reason it has not been sufficiently tested.

With respect to France, however, one can with some confidence assert the following. The quantity of illustration in religious print certainly *declined* after the Reformation. Illustrations were much used in traditional, pre-Reformation works such as Books of Hours. These were popular books, but promoted images and core beliefs of which the reformers could scarcely approve. After the Reformation, the market for Books of

---

[29] Andrew Pettegree, *Huguenot voices. The book and the communication process during the Protestant Reformation* (Brewster Lecture Series, Greenville, 2000).

Hours gradually declined, yet woodcuts continued to appear mostly in expensive books (and, indeed, are one of the most expensive features of these books). In France, most illustrations appeared in books with no polemical intent: technical, scientific or medical. They are also used in books of astrology; where they find their way into cheap print, it is mostly in newsbooks or calendars.

French Protestants very largely spurned illustration, or the illustrated broadsheet, as a polemical weapon. In the French Wars of religion illustration plays a role in cheap print only in the period 1589–90, in the conflict between the Guise and the Crown. This is a conflict within Catholicism. Only a handful of the more than 1,000 Protestant works published between 1560 and 1565 make any use of illustration.

How then does French Protestantism become a popular movement? The overwhelming conclusion is that in order for the movement to broaden its appeal beyond the unlettered it must have continued to rely on oral dissemination: primarily the spoken word, and song. The full extent of this culture of song is only now emerging as the St Andrews French book project continues its survey of French libraries: these are small tracts, which often only survive in one solitary copy. But they played a vital and distinctive role in building a French Protestant church.

IV

We are now perhaps in a position to draw some conclusions from this survey of contrasting examples: the global survey of European book culture, and a closer look at the particular example of France. The evidence we have laid out here suggests, most obviously, that the German paradigm of the relationship between print and Reformation has no general applicability: that all Reformation movements have their own character. The nature of this local character is shaped partly by social and political structures, but partly also by the organisation of the local publishing industry. In this respect the German experience was not normative, or typical, but very much the exception.

It is certainly possible to create a popular evangelical movement without the particular structural circumstances of the German movement. Other countries, France as we have seen, but also the Netherlands, have their popular moment. A well-developed print culture plays an important role in this. The role of the charismatic leader is also

important—in Germany, Luther, in France, Calvin. The charismatic leader extends the range of influence beyond those that can meet or hear them personally. But he is also important because the charismatic leader becomes a major economic force—a key local wealth generator. This helps consolidate their authority with a local elite, whose political instincts are likely otherwise to be more conservative. For Wittenberg to have given Luther up after 1520 would have been like killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. In Geneva, Calvin's writings were a cornerstone of the local economy, just as his sermons were a major tourist attraction.[30] Frequently during the 1540s and early 1550s Calvin and his colleagues found themselves in dispute with the city council, but his role in the local economy was a source of extraordinary strength and power—if not one upon which he dwells in his correspondence.[31] The laws of supply and demand, it must be emphasised, operate even in the realm of ideas.

Most of all, the evidence presented in the last part of this paper suggests that it may be necessary to rethink our sense of the process by which Reformation becomes popular. In particular we suggest that it is time to subject the role of visual culture to more sceptical re-examination: and this for Germany, as much as for the French example we have studied. Here too we need to investigate more systematically the role of song.[32]

Finally, it is necessary to recognise that print will not always operate to the advantage of those arguing for change—print was not necessarily, in terms of twentieth-century debate, a progressive force.[33] If we consider the whole realm of print in French, the balance is fairly even. Print played an important role in the growth of science, but also disseminated much nonsense, particular in the realm of medicine and astronomy. Print can disseminate error, as well as truth. In the realm of religious ideas, in France print was used every bit as effectively by defenders of old ways as by promoters of new.

---

[30] As outstanding example of preacher tourism is related by the Catholic author Florimond de Raemond. See Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis and Andrew Pettegree, eds., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1610: a collection of documents* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 37–8.

[31] William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994).

[32] Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation* (Ashgate, Aldershot, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 2001).

[33] As in the classic formulation of Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change* (Cambridge, 1982).

So where does this leave the complex print and Reformation? Can one envisage a genuine mass movement without print? Perhaps this calls for a more systematic investigation of the process of evangelical growth in a country like Scotland, which experienced a Protestant revolution with little or no indigenous print. Certainly it reminds us, that for those who study the print culture of the sixteenth century business questions—questions of distribution and the organising of the market—are as important as the location of publication.

Fig. 10.1   Place of publication: Percentage of total recorded editions by country

Germany	32.0
France	21.4
Italy	18.4
Low Countries	7.2
England	5.5
Swiss Confederation	5.4
Spain	3.1
Poland	1.9
Bohemia	1.6
*Others	1.7

* Denmark, Hungary, Ireland, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden.
Source: Analysis of 10,000 consecutive items taken from the *Index Aureliensis*.

Fig. 10.2   Language of books published (number of items)

Latin	5474
German	1347
Italian	1046
French	961
English	521
Spanish	275
Dutch	211
Danish	60
Polish	40
Hungarian	19
Czech	17
Portuguese	8
Swedish	4
Welsh	6

Source: Analysis of 10,000 consecutive items taken from the *Index Aureliensis*.

Fig. 10.3   Number of printing centres by country

Germany	92
Italy	60
France	53
Low Countries	27
Spain	20
Poland	13
Swiss Confederation	10
Hungary	9
Bohemia	8
England	6
Denmark	5
Portugal	3
Sweden	3
Scotland	2
Ireland	1

Source: Analysis of 10,000 consecutive items taken from the *Index Aureliensis*.

Fig. 10.4   Significant Centres of European printing

Germany	22	
Italy	8	
France	5	(Paris/Lyon 75%)
Low Countries	3	(Antwerp 56%)
Spain	3	
Swiss Confederation	2	(Basle/Geneva 73%)
Bohemia	1	
England	1	(London 97%)
Denmark	1	
Poland	1	

Source: Analysis of 10,000 consecutive items taken from the *Index Aureliensis*.

Fig. 10.5   Centre and periphery

Proportion of the total number of books printed in each country published in the largest printing centre.

England	London	97%
Denmark	Copenhagen	88%
Poland	Cracow	75%
Bohemia	Prague	70%
Italy	Venice	56%
Low Countries	Antwerp	56%
France	Paris	53%
Swiss Confederation	Basle	51%
Spain	Salamanca	23%
Germany	Cologne	13%

Source: Analysis of 10,000 consecutive items taken from the *Index Aureliensis*.

Fig. 10.6   Latin and Vernacular (percentage of total for each country)

	Latin	Vernacular
Germany	61	39
Italy	45	55
France	61	39
England	11	89
Low Countries	67	33
Spain	28	72
Swiss Confederation	77	23
Bohemia	80	20
Denmark	11	89
Hungary	66	34

Source: Analysis of 10,000 consecutive items taken from the *Index Aureliensis*.

THE GROWTH OF A PROVINCIAL PRESS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

Sir Frank Stenton belonged to a generation of history writing that produced many memorable figures. None was more formidable than the grand dame of the Oxford history school, Dorothy Whitelock. Faced with a student's skepticism about the authenticity of Asser's life of Alfred, Miss Whitelock produced a ready response. Why should one doubt, she proclaimed, that Asser could have composed his work while the Danes were ravaging England; after all, had not Sir Frank Stenton composed *Anglo-Saxon England* with the Luftwaffe droning overhead?[1]

Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England*, as this anecdote calls to mind, was the product of a heroic age of history writing. This was an era that also produced such classic works as Veronica Wedgewood's biography of William the Silent, though the wartime experience of Stenton and Miss Wedgewood could hardly match the relentless obduracy of Fernand Braudel, whose *Mediterranean World in the age of Philip II* was famously composed in a German prisoner of war camp, largely from memory.[2] The contemporary parable embedded in Wedgewood's account of heroic resistance, or Braudel's evocation of a sprawling European empire, is fairly obvious, but Stenton's book was also very much a product of its time. For Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* would be for many generations the defining account of the origins of English nationhood. As such it gave scholarly gravitas to a doctrine of English exceptionalism that took on a new place in the national consciousness with the struggle against Nazism.

---

[1] An anecdote I owe to my friend Peter Truesdale. This paper was first given as the Stenton Lecture of the University of Reading in November 2006. My thanks to Helen Parish, Rachael Foxley and all their colleagues in the School of History at Reading for their hospitality on that occasion.

[2] C. V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (London, 1944). Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Paris, 1949).

The invitation to give the Stenton lecture presents an opportunity to reflect on this rich and complex heritage: certainly complex for a Reformation historian, for whom the concept of English exceptionalism is both pervasive, and troubling. 'Fog in the Channel: Europe cut off' is perhaps too sweeping a parody of recent writing on the English Reformation; but it certainly catches the spirit of a strand of scholarship that has insisted that the English experience of sixteenth century religious change was wholly particular.[3] The first decade of my own academic research was very much conditioned by a reaction to the doctrine of English exceptionalism within English Reformation scholarship; in particular I wanted to insist that, viewed from the outside, the English Anglican settlement looked very much part of the Calvinist mainstream; or to put it another way, that viewed from the inside, the French and Dutch Reformed churches looked no more homogenous, and no more a faithful replica of the Genevan church, than did the church of Elizabeth.[4] In this I am happy to associate myself with the views of a distinguished forebear in the Stenton Lecture series, Patrick Collinson, who as long ago as 1985 was happy to acknowledge the Elizabethan church as part of the Reformed, Calvinist tradition.[5]

But now I reach a difficult point, because I find that in my new work, on the history of the book, that the doctrine of English exceptionalism that I have worked so hard to demolish must be rebuilt. For there is no doubt that in its experience of print in the first hundred and fifty years after the invention of printing England deviated entirely from the European norm. English readers embraced print with every bit as much enthusiasm as did those on the continent of Europe. But there were fewer of them, and the market for books in the emerging vernacular lacked the critical mass to fuel a buoyant publishing industry.

---

[3] See, for instance, the conclusion of Lucy Wooding: 'The correct view of English Protestantism is distorted by setting it within a continental framework'. L. E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 96.

[4] Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994). Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685* (Cambridge, 2002). Philip Conner, 'Huguenot identities during the wars of religion: the churches of Le Mans and Montauban compared', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 (2003), pp. 23–39.

[5] Patrick Collinson, England and International Calvinism, 1558–1640', in Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford, 1985), p. 215. See also chapter twelve in this volume.

The result was a printing industry smaller, more centralized and more heavily controlled than in any other part of Europe.[6]

   This fact has until this point been concealed to us by a number of circumstances. Firstly, it must be acknowledged that although comparatively small in European terms, the English print world had been the most heavily researched and most fully documented. Ever since two bibliographers of genius, A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, conceived in the 1920s the notion of a complete survey of early English print, scholars of the English print world have possessed a resource, the *Short Title Catalogue*, far in advance of anything available for the larger continental print cultures. As the print domains of Germany, the Low Countries and Italy have struggled to catch up, the STC has evolved, through a vastly improved second edition, to an online searchable version, and now EEBO, which offers full electronic text versions of almost all English books published before 1640.[7] It is no wonder that the English experience of print has been so well researched, and its development regarded too casually as normative rather than largely exceptional. Thus we see a model of print where the unusual concentration of production in one centre, London, has passed largely without comment. And scholars of the English print world are comfortable with a model that sees the rise of an extensive pamphlet culture, and the debate that came with it, as an essentially seventeenth-century experience. 'In 1560', according to one of the leading scholars of the younger generation, Joad Raymond, 'printed texts played a marginal role in propaganda exercises, and attempts to influence the public.' 'By 1688', he goes on, 'the year of the Glorious Revolution, it was self-evident that any attempt to generate public support for a political initiative, party or position, would have to exploit the persuasive power of the press.'[8] This is a development that can be traced, for England, to the tentative beginnings of the newssheets, the *corantos*, in the 1620s, through the explosion of oppositional pamphlets in the 1640s, through to a fully functioning public sphere in the last decades of the century.[9]

---

[6] See chapter 13 in this volume. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III: 1400–1557* (Cambridge, 1999).

[7] http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home. For an introduction to other national bibliographical projects see Andrew Pettegree, 'Print and Print Culture', in Alec Ryrie (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformation* (London, 2006), pp. 172–7.

[8] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 25.

[9] Bob Harris, *Politics and the rise of the press. Britain and France, 1620–1800* (London,

But it is a narrative that relegates the sixteenth-century pamphlet to a purely subsidiary role: a purveyor of entertainment, sensation, and low level religious instruction.[10]

Of course we have long known that this English experience does not reflect the generality of the European experience. A full century before the birth of the English *coranto* the first generation of the Reformation saw a remarkable explosion of pamphlet literature as Luther made his case to a German public in a deluge of short texts, the so called *Flugschriften*. But that too was a highly unusual printing phenomenon, made possible by the decentralized nature of German politics, and the exceptionally success of Luther and his followers in capturing public attention for their appeal for the renovation of church life. My purpose, since I have turned my attention to the history of the book, has been to try to survey the generality of the European experience of print, and see whether, perhaps between the extremes of the German pamphlet fury, and the highly controlled English industry, there exists a normative experience of print culture.[11] These researches lead me to the conclusion that most of the major zones of European print could indeed sustain a robust regional publishing industry, though its origins lie less in the religious controversies of the Reformation that have been the principal focus of my scholarly work to date, than in a precocious thirst for news and information.

The development of this argument will draw heavily on information gathered as part of a survey of French publishing in the sixteenth century. In this context it is important to note the omission of France from the roll call of national print cultures—Germany, Italy, the Netherlands—already covered by a national bibliographical survey.[12] This is already extraordinary, because France was one of the first and most vibrant centres of print in the sixteenth century. The absence of a full survey of French print is a function largely of the peculiar history of French library culture, and it is one that in the last while a group of

---

1996). Joad Raymond, *Making the News. An anthology of the newsbooks of revolutionary England, 1641–1660* (Morton-in-Marsh, 1993).

   [10] Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering*; Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

   [11] For a first exploration of these questions see Pettegree and Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: a reconsideration', chapter 10 in this volume.

   [12] Above, note 7. To this could be added complete surveys of many of the more marginal print domains of Europe, such as Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia and Hungary, which though small in absolute terms add materially to the richness and complexity of European print culture.

scholars based in St Andrews has been attempting to repair.[13] In the last ten years this group has visited around 300 libraries around France, but also in Britain, the United States, the Low Countries, Switzerland and Germany. All have important collections of French books. The result is a register of around 52,000 bibliographically distinct items, surviving in some 180,000 copies in 1,660 libraries worldwide.[14] Around half of these items might be described as pamphlets: short texts of less than two sheets in length, in small formats, addressing a variety of subjects and audiences.

It is this pamphlet literature that will be the principal focus of my concern here. But to explain the growth of a popular reading public in the sixteenth century, and birth of a provincial press, it is necessary first to cast an eye back to the first age of the printed book, in the fifteenth century. For the development of the international book market in the incunabula age had not been without serious difficulties: in particular it offered bleak warnings for those who sought to exploit the potential of the new invention outside the major European centres of production. After an early stage of exuberant growth, the last two decades of the fifteenth century had witnessed a rapid contraction of the European print industry, as the new art moved towards a fully commercial model of production. The potential for a viable tradition of regional print seemed distinctly uncertain.

The invention of the technique of printing with moveable type did not of course invent the book: the towns, universities and religious houses of the later middle ages were full of books. Naturally the pattern of production had evolved to meet this demand; and although there were some genuine centres of mass production, such as Paris, on the whole manuscript books tended to be produced close to their market.[15] In other words, because the community of readers was widely dispersed, this tended to be mirrored in patterns of production. The industry was organized around the principle of on-demand reproduction: a single copy would be made, for a potential purchaser, when needed.

---

[13] For the French book project see http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/reformation/book/.

[14] Andrew Pettegree Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

[15] On book culture during the manuscript age see in particular, Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers : commercial book producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (London, 2000).

And although the most skilful copyists might graduate to the largest
towns, or the richest courts, the essential skills for book production were
widely dispersed. In consequence scribes could make a good living in
countless cities and towns throughout Europe. Monasteries maintained
a largely separate network of production and use, and functioned as a
vital repository of texts.[16]

In the first decades after the invention of printing, this established
model of business organization remained very influential. The new art
allowed the reproduction of large numbers of identical texts, but old
habits died hard, and buyers still expected their books to retain a largely
individual character: hence the importance, in the first decades after
Gutenberg's invention became known, of hand illumination to give each
book a distinctive appearance. Even beyond this, the extent to which
the new disciplines of production would call for a re-organization of
the industry was scarcely grasped. Instead of a single text being copied
once, the production of a printed book demanded very considerable
investment, in paper, wages, ink and fixed costs of plant, before sales
would bring any return. Furthermore, the potential demand had to be
estimated with some accuracy. If too few copies were printed, then a
second edition would have to be undertaken, which for a long text was
both time-consuming and expensive. If too many were printed, then
the unsold remains would have to be stored, offering no return on the
investment, and the extra costs of warehousing. The advent of print
made it necessary to develop a network of distribution scarcely appro-
priate when manuscript books were being produced in single units.

So great was the interest in the new invention that it took some time
for it to be realized how radically print had changed the basic econom-
ics of the industry. Most of Europe's rulers, and many local municipal
authorities and bishops, were so determined to establish print in their
locality that venture capital was freely available: the introduction of a
printing press was not at this point an economic decision, but a matter
of prestige. As a result, the new invention spread around Europe with
remarkable rapidity. By 1480 a printing press had been established in
all of Europe's leading centres of population, education and govern-
ment, and many smaller places besides.[17]

---

[16] L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the transmission of
Greek and Latin Literature* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1974).

[17] Philippe Nieto, 'Géographie des impressions européennes du XVe siècle', *Revue
française d'histoire du livre* (118–121, 2004), pp. 125–173.

But this rate of growth was not sustainable, based as it was not on a business model, and a realistic appraisal of the needs of Europe's readers, but on social cachet. When the novelty of print diminished, and the number of those prepared to invest with no hope of profit dwindled, many printers experienced hard times. Many found that they had invested in the wrong types of books, and established their presses where the market was simply too small to sustain a viable operation.[18] The result was a major re-structuring of the European world of print in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. This is an aspect of the early history of print that has seldom been remarked: though it is evident enough from an analysis of the data embedded in the survey of incunabula printing undertaken in the last twenty years under the supervision of the British Library in London. As smaller printers in uneconomic places were driven out of business, the industry was re-organized around a much smaller number of much more heavily capitalized larger firms. These were businesses that could afford the fixed costs of printing the larger editions and more substantial books that would bring a decent return; that could afford to hold stock until an edition could be disposed in a marketplace now organized on a trans-European basis; and could maintain their place in the marketplace through a higher level of specialization. In consequence Europe's printers continued to perfect the book as artifact, with new type faces, a recognizably modern title-page, and features such as side-notes and an index; but there were far fewer European towns that could boast a printing press in the year 1500 than had been the case twenty years before.[19]

The sixteenth century would see a gradual recovery of the number of places that could sustain a printing press. But for many of them this involved printing a new type of book. This was not the typical book of the fifteenth century, the learned, scholarly tomes that it had proved impossible to sell in sufficient numbers to compete with the larger centres of production. Rather, the foundations of a reinvigorated provincial printing industry rested on new markets, new readers, and new genres of book. In Germany this transformation occurred with the public interest

---

[18] Martha Tedeschi, 'Publish and perish', in Sandra L. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word. The Social History of Books circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 41–67. Susan Noakes, 'The development of the book market in late quattrocento Italy. Printers' failure and the role of the middleman', *Journal of Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 11 (1981), pp. 23–55.

[19] Nieto, 'Géographie', p. 155.

in the Reformation, which allowed a phenomenal increase in production in the decade after 1517. This created a new printing Leviathan in Wittenberg, but allowed plentiful opportunity for profitable reprints in places such as Nuremberg, Strasburg and Augsburg, and many smaller towns besides.[20] But this was an unusual case, and the furoré raised by Luther would not be indefinitely sustained. In other places the major stimulus of a revived regional press would be interest in public events: the thirst for news. And this new market brought with it a new genre of printed book: the pamphlet.

In France, the printed news pamphlet emerged precociously early.[21] The first surviving examples date from 1488, with two pamphlets recording the resolution of the war with Brittany.[22] But it is with the Italian campaign of Charles VIII in 1494–5 that the genre begins to take on its definitive shape. Charles VIII's descent into Italy produced a flurry of news pamphlets recording his triumphant progress through the peninsula: the battle of Rapallo and his reception at the court of Savoy; his entry into Florence and then into Rome; finally, the capture of Naples and the submission of the Pope brings forth a new flurry of celebratory texts.[23]

It is easy to imagine why news of these far away events would have been eagerly awaited in the French capital. The publication of multiple editions of the same texts suggests that they did indeed find an extensive reading public. The pamphlets are cast in a style intended to emphasize their authenticity and urgent topicality, often presented in the form of a letter or dispatch from an eyewitness at the scene of the action. For all that, these are far from detached and objective news reports. They are suffused by a tone of optimism that will be the prevailing spirit of these news pamphlets for the next seventy years. They laud the ease with which French armies overwhelmed their enemies;

---

[20] Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, 1994). Helmar Junghans, *Wittenberg als Lutherstadt* (Göttingen, 1979). Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 135–40.

[21] Jean-Pierre Seguin, 'L'information à la fin du XVe siècle en France. Pièces d'actualité imprimées sous le règne de Charles VIII', *Arts et traditions populaires*, 4, 1956, pp. 309–330, 1–2, 1957, pp. 46–74.

[22] Seguin, 'L'information à la fin du XVe siècle', nos. 4–5. The full text of the Treaty of Arras of 1482 was published in several editions, but as a quarto edition of 30 leaves this can hardly be described as a pamphlet. Traité de Paix entre Louis XI et le duc d'Autriche, 24 Dec 1482 [Paris, c. 1483]. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Rés. 4 LG6 2.

[23] Seguin, 'L'information à la fin du XVe siècle', nos. 7–32.

they stress the warmth of their welcome; and they paint enthusiastically the many pleasures of the invested territories: the fine wines, the beautiful women, and their beguiling susceptibility to French charm.[24] It was perhaps relatively easy to create a literature of celebration of a campaign that seemed at first to carry all before it. Charles VIII's bitter, ramshackle retreat through the peninsula does not produce the same echo in the pamphlet literature.

During these years the news pamphlet also takes on its definitive physical form. These pamphlets are short, and almost invariably in quarto format (the same size as the German *Flugschriften*). They are by and large published by respectable Parisian printing houses, whose involvement in this sort of literature exists alongside more general production of printed works: they are not, at this point, the preserve of pamphlet specialists. Consequently, although there is some evidence of haste in the production, the general quality of the workmanship is high: they show signs of typographical sophistication, and are often illustrated, either with a single title-page woodcut, or with several text illustrations. But these are not woodcuts specially created for these pamphlets: rather they seem generally to have been re-employed from earlier, larger books. Sometimes the illustrations bear no relation at all to the subject matter of the pamphlet; sometimes the same woodcut is used again and again in a whole series of news prints. One large woodcut of the king surrounded by courtiers is found successively in an account of the beginning of the Italian campaign, a dispatch recording the fall of Naples, and two other pamphlets of the same vintage.[25]

The appetite for news in the French capital would ensure that the flurry of press activity that accompanied the campaign of 1494–5 would be repeated at each stage of the Italian wars. Louis XII, in particular, demonstrated a shrewd awareness of the power of the press, and the Italian campaigns of 1507 and 1509 produced a new peak of pamphlet production.[26] These years also witnessed publication of a number of

---

[24] Seguin, 'L'information à la fin du XVe siècle', p. 326.

[25] Seguin, 'L'information à la fin du XVe siècle', p. 315.

[26] Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'Information en France de Louis XII à Henri II* (Geneva, 1961), Louis XII nos. 18–41. Michael Sherman, 'Political Propaganda and Renaissance Culture: French Reactions to the League of Cambrai, 1509–1510', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8 (1977), pp. 97–128, an article based on material drawn from his unpublished dissertation: 'The Selling of Louis XII: Propaganda and Popular Culture in Renaissance France' (University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, 1974).

news pamphlets dealing with purely domestic events, such as royal entries; the smooth transition of power from Louis to Francis I was also celebrated in an extensive pamphlet literature.[27]

Particularly noteworthy in this second wave of pamphleteering is the increasingly active role played by the leading literary figures of the day. In the war of the League of Cambrai some of France's most gifted writers were enrolled to heap praise on the King and abuse on his enemies, the Genoese, the Venetians, and, more controversially, Pope Julius II.[28] The publication of these works, many of them in verse, raises interesting questions about their purpose and intended audience. Literary scholars have reminded us, very properly, that the verses that appeared in print were part of a larger poetical corpus, a substantial portion of which remained in manuscript. Jean Marot, father of the more famous Clément and a leading poet at the court of Louis XII, adhered wholly to manuscript culture. His major works on the conquest of Genoa and the defeat of Venice were not printed. Jennifer Britnell has called attention to the introverted nature of much of this court poetry. Later writings in the sequence build on references culled from earlier pieces by other authors, and the whole literature moves seamlessly from manuscript to print and back again. Even some of the printed items survive only in vellum presentation copies, prepared presumably for the King or members of his circle: this was not the literature of the streets. It does not appear that these court writers were being mobilized to influence opinion in the country, though their work may have played its part in solidifying support for royal policy among those closest to the seat of power.

Other writers, such as Jean Bouchet, Jean Le Maire de Belges and Pierre Gringore clearly did exert a wider influence. Each offered a distinctive aspect to the public literary support for the Italian campaign. Le Maire de Belges offered considered historical justifications for French actions, while Gringore extended the range of media in use with his employment of the dramatic form, the *sottie*, of which he was an acknowledged master.[29] This use of dramatic performance in

---

[27] Seguin, *L'Information en France*, Louis XII nos. 56–61, 62–5, François I nos. 1–9.

[28] Jennifer Britnell, 'Antipapal writing in the reign of Louis XII: propaganda and self-promotion', in Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (eds.), *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the early sixteenth century: France, England and Scotland* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 41–61.

[29] Cynthia Brown, *The Shaping of History and Poetry in Late Mediaeval France*

a political and satirical context bears further investigation, but for us here it is the third author, Jean Bouchet, who is most interesting, since he was based in Poitiers, far away from the capital.[30] His writings offer the first hint that the debate over French policy was being eagerly followed in the provinces.

This is an important departure, because until this point the production of contemporary news pamphlets had been overwhelmingly a Parisian affair. Accounts of Louis XII's campaigns begin to appear in Lyon from around 1509. Apart from being the natural marshalling point for the Italian campaigns, Lyon was also the second city of French print. In due course it would develop its own specialism in news pamphlets, retailing sensational events from beyond France's borders. But this apart, other provincial centres do not seem to have developed a part in the production of news pamphlets at this time. This was not because, as was the case in England, such centres of provincial printing simply did not exist. Over the course of the sixteenth century, printing presses are recorded in over one hundred French towns and cities; and although many of these only discovered, or re-discovered print later in the century, several French provincial towns were early centres of print culture, including Orléans, Poitiers, Toulouse, Rouen and Bordeaux. But, with the solitary exception of Poitiers, this was not in the main a vernacular culture. Most provincial presses were, perhaps against expectations, overwhelmingly Latinate, producing an output of largely traditional character: legal texts, school books, and works of devotion. Their part in the buoyant market for news seems to have been modest in the extreme. Jean-Pierre Seguin, the great specialist of the Parisian literature, attributes a number of unsigned, anonymous texts to Rouen, but on questionable authority. It seemed that the birth of a provincial news culture would necessarily await the great explosion of printed pamphlet literature that came with the Wars of Religion in the second half of the century.

So, at least, I thought, until I was lucky enough to make a chance discovery in the Bibliothèque Méjanes in Aix-en-Provence in the spring of 2005. One of the most charming aspects of the St Andrews French book project is that we have been able to tour every region of France,

(Birmingham, Alabama, 1985); id. *Poets, Patrons and Printers, Crisis of Authority in Late Mediaeval France* (Ithaca, 1995).

   [30] Jennifer Britnell, *Jean Bouchet* (Edinburgh, 1986).

visiting libraries hardly known to many scholars of the period. The
Bibliothèque Méjanes is one of the greatest of the French municipal
collections, the visionary gift of the second Marquis de Méjanes to his
home province in 1776. The library, which miraculously weathered the
French Revolution almost unscathed, contained over 300,000 items,
including many unique pamphlets; our project group spent the Easter
vacation of four successive years examining its contents.

On the last day of work of our final trip I picked up a small volume
thought to contain three texts.[31] In fact it contained thirty-three, all
published in Rouen between 1538 and 1544. All were short, generally
four or eight pages long; all described contemporary events. They laid
out for a local Rouenais audience the crucial events of these turbu-
lent years: the fragile reconciliation between the French King and the
Emperor in 1539, the Emperor's extraordinary progress across France
to his Netherlandish dominions; the collapse of the flimsy entente, and
the descent back into war.[32]

This one volume, the work of at least three separate Rouen printers,
reveals the existence, previously undocumented, of a vibrant provincial
news culture. What are we to make of it? Firstly, that the news retailed
reflects very much the same character as the pamphlet campaigns of
earlier years. The Rouen pamphlets maintain a tone of relentless opti-
mism, increasingly discordant with the adverse turn in the campaign-
ing; the 1544 campaign, one must remember, saw Imperial armies
penetrate deep into French territory from the north, setting off panic
in the capital.[33] How useful would it have been for the merchants of
Rouen to be bombarded by relentlessly optimistic literature that retailed
the modest countervailing successes of French arms? If a news culture
requires the free exchange of conflicting and especially oppositional
points of view, then this had not been achieved in France in the first
half of the sixteenth century.

In this respect then the latter half of the century represents a crucial
turning point for French print. This was the era of the French Wars
of Religion, a conflict that mobilized active public participation to an
unprecedented extent, and with destructive impact. This was a conflict
fought out at court, in the pulpit, but also in the streets: and there is

---

[31] Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rés. S 25.
[32] This literature is treated in more detail in chapter two of this present volume.
[33] R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 366–72.

no doubt that polemical literature played a major role in engaging this wider public.[34] Scarcely less important, though much less remarked upon, was the role of print in the efforts of the crown and other French authorities to restore their authority in the intervals between the intermittent fighting. Certainly in my view—and this seems to be borne out by the data assembled by the St Andrews project group—it was this latter task that did most to nurture the culture of print in the French provinces. By the end of the century the dominance of Paris had been well and truly broken.

The statistical echo of this provincial print culture is evident in the table presented here, based on information from the St Andrews French book project database. It shows that there are no fewer than 29 towns in France that produce fifty or more known works during the course of the century—and here the emphasis is on known works, for reasons to which I will return. The primacy of Paris is obvious, with Lyon a formidable counter-point; but together provincial printing accounts for a substantial 20% of all known editions published within France. The 1573 editions published in Rouen make this a regional centre of some importance, but even the 335 editions of Caen, the 534 of Toulouse, and the 315 of Bordeaux would have had a substantial impact on regional life. We should bear in mind too, that these figures relate only to editions published in the French language; several of these regional centres also produced a considerable number of Latin editions.[35]

The overwhelming proportion of the French books published outside Lyon or Paris were published in the four decades after 1560. In these years the contribution of provincial print rises to something nearer 50%. The provincial engagement with vernacular print culture went through several stages. The first, from around 1559 to 1565, was the emergence of an oppositional Protestant printing operation within the borders of France. Until this point the production of Protestant

---

[34] On the pulpit polemic see particularly Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, 2002). Emile Pasquier, *Un curé de Paris pendant les guerres de religion: René Benoist, le pape des Halles* (Paris, 1913).

[35] *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle* (32 vols., Baden-Baden, 1968–80), vols. 1 (Bordeaux), 20 (Toulouse). The bibliography of Caen and Rouen was resigned to a separate section of this project, but remains very incomplete. Aquilon, Pierre, *Bibliographie Normande. Bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle* (Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. Fascicule hors série, 1992).

Fig. 11.1   Vernacular books published in the leading centres of print in
France during the sixteenth century (number of editions).

Town	Total	Town	Total
Paris	23301	Angers	163
		Rennes	154
Lyon	7604	Arras	138
		Avignon	137
Rouen	1573	Bourges	125
Orléans	699	Dijon	116
Poitiers	611	Aix	96
Toulouse	534	Blois	73
Tours	529	Châlons	72
Troyes	516	Nantes	69
La Rochelle	415	Angoulême	68
Caen	335	Chartres	59
Bordeaux	315	Metz	57
Reims	239	Limoges	55
Le Mans	237	Langres	54

works had been wholly dominated by Geneva, books being transported
from this safe haven beyond the borders often at great risk to those
involved.[36] But as the crisis of royal authority gathered pace in France
after 1559, the Huguenot communities were emboldened to publish
their books and manifestos closer to home: at Caen in Normandy, at
Orléans, and at Lyon.[37]

This window of opportunity for Protestant printing within France
was comparatively short: it barely outlasted the settlement at the end of
the first bout of fighting in 1563, which in this respect must be counted
a Protestant defeat. Thereafter Protestant printing within France was
largely confined to La Rochelle, on France's western seaboard: in terms
of distribution as inconveniently placed as Geneva to the east.[38] But

---

[36] For Geneva print, the earlier work of Robert Kingdon has now been substantially
refined by the bibliographical investigations of Jean-François Gilmont, and the work
of the St Andrews French book project. See chapter five in this volume.

[37] For Orléans see Louis Desgraves, *Elie Gibier imprimeur à Orléans (1536–1588)*
(Geneva, 1966); the different editions of Gibier's political tracts are more precisely
identified in Jean-François Gilmont, 'La première diffusion des Mémoires de Condé
par Éloi Gibier en 1562–1563', in his *Le livre & ses secrets* (Louvain-la-Neuve & Genève,
2003), pp. 191–216. For Caen and Lyon see chapters three and four of this volume.

[38] For La Rochelle see Louis Desgraves, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle. 1: Barthélémy Berton,
1563–1573* (Geneva, 1960); *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle. 2: Les Haultin, 1571–1623* (Geneva,
1960); *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle, 3. La veuve Berton et Jean Portau, 1573–1589* (Geneva,

this was far from the end of provincial print in France. Between 1564 and 1566 Cathérine de Medici and the young king Charles embarked on a tour of the kingdom intended to bind the wounds of a year of savage fighting. Their physical perambulation found its echo in concerted efforts to bring the royal will to the notice of France's divided communities through the medium of print.

This print campaign has received comparatively little attention for two main reasons. Firstly the largest bulk of these publications were not incendiary polemic, but more protean official documents, such as royal edicts and proclamations, intended to repair the damage of the year of fighting, and resolve tangled collateral issues. But these royal edicts are more than dry legal texts. They too have an important propaganda function, expressed explicitly in their lengthy preambles, and implicitly by creating an impression of business as normal. Issued from the King's court or the Parlement of Paris, these edicts invariably have a first Paris edition. But increasingly publication by the king's official printer is followed by a ripple of provincial reprints. These become the major stock in trade of many a provincial printer. Indeed, in many places, such as Le Mans, it is the primary rationale for the establishment of a provincial press.[39] In this way the royal will was relayed around the kingdom.

The second reason this literature has been neglected is that survival rates are so poor. These provincial reprints of royal edicts are usually small books in octavo, often betraying the relative lack of expertise of a novice printer. Not systematically collected at the time, their survival is purely a matter of chance. The Tours printer Olivier Tafforeau would be largely unknown but for the survival of a unique collection of his works, all edicts and local ordinances from the 1560s, in the Folger Library, Washington.[40] Even more ephemeral were the local ordinances

---

1960). *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 16. Fitful efforts were made were made to introduce printing presses in a number of places in the Huguenot south in the last two decades of the century, but none of these really amounted to much. Philip Conner, *Huguenot Heartland. Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, 2002). *Idem*, 'A provincial perspective: Protestant print culture in southern France', in Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Philip Conner (eds.), *The Sixteenth century French religious book* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 2001), pp. 286–302. *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 4 (Montauban), 24 (Montpellier, Nîmes).

[39] For instance, the output of the printer Jérôme Olivier was utterly dominated in the 1560s by the production of local reprints of royal edicts. See *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 28, pp. 87–93, though the work of the St Andrews French book project has vastly enhanced our knowledge of the output of this printer.

[40] Washington, Folger Library, DC 110 2 A1 v 5 Cage nos. 1–10.

and proclamations published by town authorities, often in response to a royal instruction to re-publish an edict locally.

Between 1562 and 1563 the printer Jacques Garnier printed on the instruction of the town council of Bourges a whole series of ordinances and proclamations relating to the organization of local government at the beginning of the religious wars. These were ordinances relating to the provision of supplies of grain in the town, and a series of proclamations by the local commander of the royal forces, M. de Montverd. There were seven such proclamations in all. Yet none of these edicts survive in a single copy. They are known only because warrants for payment to the printer were recorded in the local municipal records. Without these archival records the work of this particular provincial printer would have disappeared altogether.[41]

One can imagine this was not a particularly unusual experience: only a tiny fraction of the broadsheet ordinances and proclamations published during the sixteenth century have survived. In the course of our researches around France we have come across perhaps two hundred examples, and in fact they are more often to be found in archives, municipal and departmental, than in libraries. Our greatest haul came as the result of a chance sequence of events every bit as extraordinary as the discovery of the Rouen tracts in Aix. We had arrived in Troyes, and one lunchtime of the staff announced that they could not deliver any further books that day. Searching about for something with which to occupy myself that afternoon, I took up a bibliography of local printing, only to discover that the local municipal archives had a cache of sixteenth-century broadsheets.[42] When I asked for directions to that archive, it transpired that the town records had been deposited in the municipal library, and that they were available for immediate consultation. I duly filled in the requisite slips, and ten minutes later I was poring over several large albums, containing the greatest surviving collection of locally printed sixteenth-century broadsheets, all in pristine condition. One, remarkably, was present in 22 copies, presumably the remaining stock of an edition delivered in its entirety to the town council.[43] The broadsheets covered the usual

---

[41] *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 13, p. 28.
[42] *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 12, pp. 51 ff.
[43] De par Monsieur le Bailly de Troyes, ou son Lieutenant. || [S]VR-ce que le substitud du Procureur general, & les Maire & Escheuins de la Ville de Troyes, ont

range of issues that concerned local authorities: the price of grain and bread, the maintenance of food stocks, the marshalling of troops and maintenance of military discipline, the management of the increased number of poor and vagrants created by the troubles. This collection transformed our knowledge of Troyes printing, and indeed the wider knowledge of the shadowy world of ephemeral print in France. An equally valuable collection turned up in the Archives Départmentales in Caen, Normandy, where the printed items, including several unique local broadsheets, were interleaved with the manuscript letters and dispatches received by the municipal authorities from the royal court.[44] Here one can reconstruct the process by which the royal will was made known in the provinces. The royal authorities sent down instructions for a new order or ordinance to be proclaimed (often with a copy of the printed Paris order wrapped in the manuscript instructions). The town council dutifully made arrangements for the edict to be proclaimed in the town, in the first instance orally, by the town crier. In the instances where they believed the edict was of sufficient importance to merit a local printed edition, a copy of this local reprint was deposited in the local archive, presumably to document compliance.

Although the full extent of this ephemeral literature is almost impossible to quantify, it must have been the lifeblood of many provincial printers around France. For printers, work of this sort represented the ideal commission. It was quick, usually taking no more than a day to publish an edict of three or six hundred copies. It also provided for an immediate return, since the whole edition was often bought by a single purchaser. A Rouenais precursor of the publishers of the news prints of the 1540s, Louis Bouvet, augmented his income from the publication of missals and Books of Hours by publishing Papal Bulls and royal edicts against Lutheranism. These works were commissioned by the Archbishop of Rouen, who paid for the entire edition, in some cases as many as 1800 or 2000 copies. In all probability they were intended for free distribution as part of a campaign to bolster traditional religion, rather than for commercial sale. And again, not a single copy of any

---

remonstré que au || mespris de l'honneur de Dieu, constitutions de l'Eglise, & des Arrests, & Ordonnances de ce Royaume, plusieurs se || licentioient à infinité de vices, & desbordoient en telle sorte que s'il n'y estoit de bref pourueu, l'estat des gens de bien || ne pourroit estre asseuré. Troyes, Archives Municipales (on deposit at Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale), Layette 20 (36–69).

[44] Caen, Archives Départementales de Calvados, 1 B 3.

one of these pamphlets has survived: we know of them only from the archival register of payment in the archiepiscopal records.[45]

For a provincial printer work of this sort was extremely welcome. Bouvet was paid up to seven *livres* for the two thousand copies he delivered of some of his pamphlets: a decent return for two or three days work.[46] And, in contrast to the controversial literature of the religious wars, this sort of work was risk free, since work for the Bishop, or an official order, published on the instructions of the town council, could hardly bring a printer into difficulties with those same authorities. It is no wonder that the honour of being named the official publisher of royal edicts was keenly sought by many established Paris publishers, and their provincial counterparts were no less eager to cultivate a relationship with the local Parlement or municipal authorities.

This was good work for France's provincial printers, but the wars of religion could also offer harder choices. Several of those who took advantage of the apparent loosening of controls to publish Protestant works were subsequently driven out of business by vengeful Catholic municipalities.[47] The later conflict of authority between the crown and the Catholic League would pose some equally difficult issues. None of this would have been evident when, in the year 1574, an uneasy yet hopeful nation prepared to welcome a new king, Henry III, on his return from Poland, a throne to which he been elected, with much French rejoicing, only a few months before. Henry's languid progress towards France, which took him on a long detour through Italy, was followed by a stream of pamphlets, published for the most part in Lyon.[48] France's second city had by this time established an easy supremacy in a particular type of news pamphlet, retailing news from abroad, whether this was sensational accounts of floods and other natural calamities, or scarcely

---

[45] *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 14, pp. 66–72. Alastair Duke cites a similar example of a defence of indulgences commissioned by the Chapter of the Cathedral at Utrecht. Duke, 'Posters, pamphlets and printers. The ways and means of disseminating dissident opinion on the eve of the Dutch Revolt', *Dutch Crossing*, 27 (2003), p. 30.

[46] *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 14, p. 72, no. 27.

[47] Especially in Paris. See Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross. Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York, 1991), pp. 130–135.

[48] *Souhait du peuple francois, sur l'heureux et prochain retour de Henry III* (Lyon, Rigaud, 1574); *La continuation du souhait des francoys, sur l'heureux et prochain retour de Henry de Valois, Roy de France et de Polonne* (Lyon, Rigaud, 1574); *Discours des triomphes et resiouissances faicts par la serenissime seigneurie de Venise, à l'entrée heureuse de Henry de Valois* (Lyon, Jove, 1574); *La somptueuse et magnifique entrée du tres-chrestien roy Henry III en la cite de Mantoue* (Paris, Chesneau, 1574).

less sensational accounts of the war against the Turk.[49] The optimistic and laudatory tone of these celebrations of the new king's accession proved for Henry III to be a short-lived honeymoon with French public opinion. Within a few years the hopes invested in this most Catholic prince were eroded, first by the revolt of his brother, Anjou, then by the failure of the Estates of Blois, and finally by the resurgence of Guise power epitomized by the rise of the Catholic League.

All of this found its echo in a nervous, tentative pamphlet literature; but this steady drip of topical pamphlets would turn into a torrent when in 1588 Henry III turned on his persecutors and ordered the assassination of the Guises. This event, followed by his own assassination the following year, opened the polemical floodgates, unleashing a torrent of print of unprecedented proportions.[50]

Much of this polemical production, at this point almost universally hostile to the King, was concentrated in Paris and Lyon, both at this time firmly under League control. But the accession of Henry of Navarre produced a distinct change in the polemical climate. Henry, now Henry IV, had a very clear grasp of the power of print; and although for the first years the struggle for the throne was fought in a series of pitched battles, Henry also did not neglect the battle for hearts and minds. From the first years of his scarcely acknowledged kingship, Henry established his own printing presses: at first at Tours, the largest town under royalist control conveniently close to Paris.[51] One can chart Henry's struggle to establish his authority throughout France through the spreading geography of royalist print, as newly established presses first made the case for the legitimacy of his rule, and then prepared the way for his inevitable conversion to Catholicism.

This conflict set up some interesting regional rivalries. Henry understood that the royalist cause might be enhanced by tapping into the long established competition for precedence between France's provincial towns. Thus to balance the influence of a Leaguer press at Rouen, a loyalist press was established at Caen. In Brittany the speedy endorsement

---

[49] This sort of work was especially the preserve of Benoit Rigaud. On Rigaud see H.-L. and J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle* (12 vols., Lyon, 1895–1921), though knowledge of Rigaud's output will have been transformed by the work of the St Andrews French book project.

[50] Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant le Ligue (1585–1594)* (Geneva, 1975).

[51] *Répertoire bibliographique*, vol. 23.

of Henry's legitimacy by the Parlement of Rennes provoked the estab-
lishment of a rival Leaguer Parlement at Nantes. The two rival factions
soon found an obedient echo in print: indeed, the conflicts of these
years helped revive a moribund local print culture that had been largely
dormant in Brittany since the fifteenth century.[52] And none doubted
the power of print to influence events. When a pamphlet published
in Rennes was found in Nantes it was ordered to be burned, with due
solemnity, by the public executioner.[53]

This bizarre incident is perhaps a good point at which to terminate
this whistle-stop tour of provincial print. What does it tell us? Firstly, it
confirms that in France at least the events of the sixteenth century had
stimulated the reconstruction of a viable and vibrant regional culture
of print. This regional print culture was enormously stimulated by the
conflicts arising from the French Wars of Religion. But the unconsidered
and still largely invisible bedrock was official print, the steady reliable
work of official edicts and proclamations that brought information to
local populations, and a decent living to local printers.

Does what we have seen allow us to proclaim the birth of a provin-
cial news community in sixteenth-century France—and, indeed, in the
Netherlands and Germany, lands that also witnessed the dissemination
of a vibrant print culture away from the main centres of production?
Certainly, this provincial world of print does not meet the severe condi-
tions for a Habermasian public sphere. French authorities maintained
strict control over the output of their presses. There was far less license
to print works that contested the prevailing political views than was
the case for Germany in the 1520s. But this mattered far less when an
alternative centre of print was available a few miles away, as with Rouen
and Caen, Rennes and Nantes, than was the case with the centralized
print culture of England.

Must one, in any case, accept the absence of censorship as a pre-
condition for the existence of a functioning public sphere? One must
here remember two salient facts. Firstly that print formed only a segment
of a continuum of information sources that stretched from the pulpit,
through the market place to the council chamber, and back to the pulpit.
Merely by placing the official case into the public domain through the

---

[52] Malcolm Walsby, 'The development of printing in Brittany in the sixteenth century
and the polemical reaction to the wars of the League', unpublished paper delivered
to the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Toronto, 2004.
[53] Walsby, loc. cit.

medium of print, royal and municipal authorities were acknowledging the existence and importance of a wider court of public opinion, and one that had to be wooed and persuaded. In the large and complex political organism that was France, this public sphere extended far beyond the city walls of the capital to embrace a multitude of urban societies, all of which during the sixteenth century found their echo in a dynamic and diverse world of provincial print.

I have concentrated in this paper on France, because that is where my own recent researches have the most new information to offer. But much of has been revealed about the balance of publishing between Paris and the provinces could also apply to other of Europe's largest zones of print. Both Italy and the Netherlands conform quite closely to the same model, with one partially dominant metropolis—Antwerp and Venice respectively—with a range of healthy satellite centres, all serving an important local market.[54] In Spain and the Holy Roman Empire the model is even more dispersed. Neither has a single dominant centre responsible for more than 25% of the total output. Thus throughout Europe each language zone sees during the sixteenth century the establishment of a robust local print culture away from the metropolitan centre of production—with the exception of England.

The history and geography of European print thus pose challenging questions to scholars of the English book trade, and indeed of English culture and political life. Why was the development of print culture in England so markedly different from that of Europe's other language zones? It is possible that the political nation really was so homogenous and so closely connected with central networks of authority emanating from London that the crown's writ could run into the provinces without the reinforcement of local print. But it still may seem remarkable that there was not sufficient demand for the sort of ephemeral print—small books of news, sensations and devotion—that sustained the industry in other European centres. To publicize a monstrous birth in Hull—or at least to profit by such publicity—required the manuscript to be ferried to London, printed, and then carted back again. Perhaps most interesting of all is the fact that civil polities such as York, Bristol and Norwich did not feel they needed the prestige that a local publishing industry

---

[54] See chapter ten.

could convey.[55] In France, the towns that from the 1560s emerged as
Huguenot strongholds in the south of France, Montauban, Nîmes
and Montpellier, were awash with books. They were supplied to local
booksellers mostly from Geneva and via Lyon, and this supply route
worked so effectively as to obviate the need for local publishing. But
the town council of Montauban still felt it a sufficient matter of local
pride to insist on luring an experienced printer to set up his press in
the town, and they provided substantial financial inducements to make
it worth his while.[56] A local press was obviously not important in the
same way to the self-worth of England's local civic communities: and
that, without doubt, is a peculiarity of English cultural life worthy of
comment, and further investigation.

[55] For the stuttering history of early print in York see, W. K. and E. M. Sessions,
Printing in York: from the 1490s to the present day (York, 1976).
[56] Conner, 'Provincial perspective', pp. 297–8.

Par le Roy en son cõseil.

CHARLES par la grace de Dieu Roy de France au Bailly de Caen où son Lieutenant salut. Encores que nous ayons cy deuant fait plusieurs ordonnances & edicts pour continuer nostre peuple & le faire viure en tranquilité: neantmoins nous auons chacun iour nouuelles & diuerses plaintes d'infinies emotions & scandales qui se commettent en plusieurs endroits de nostre Royaume, grandement preiudiciables au bien & repos public: à quoy desirans remedier & euiter les inconueniens qui en pourroient sortir, C'est affaire bien & meurement consideré en nostre conseil par nostre treshonorée Dame & mere, nostre trescher & tresamé Oncle le Roy de Nauarre & autres princes de nostre sang & gens de nostredit conseil: Nous par le bon aduis & sage deliberation auons derechef inhibé & deffendu, inhibons & deffendons tresexpressément par ces presentes à tous nos subiects de quelque estat, qualité, ou condition qu'ils soyent, s'entre iniurier, reprocher, ne prouoquer pour le fait de la religion, & ne faire procurer ou fauoriser aucune sedition, ne tenir propos en priué ne public sommant & inuitant à blasme ou diuision les vns enuers les autres pour le regard de ladicte Religion sur peine de la hard, & sans espoir de grace ou remision: vous enioignant proceder sommairement contre les delinquants: de façon que punition exemplaire s'en ensuiue suyuant nos edicts contre les seditieux, lesquels nous entendons estre ceux qui par ces mots de Papistes & de Huguenots, ou autres semblables, s'entre irritent l'vn l'autre, abbatent ymages & croix, attachent placards, sément libelles diffamatoires, forcent temples, & esmeuuent noyses & debats, & semblablement ceux qui s'efforcent piller & saccager maisons, dont despend tel & si pernicieux inconuenient qu'il est bien raisonnable y obuier. Defendons pour ceste cause tresexpressément, & sur les mesmes peines à tous nosdits subiects violer ou enfraindre la seureté & honneste liberté dont vn chacun doit iouyr estant retiré en sa maison & domicile, ou celle de ses voisins & amys, sans qu'il soit loisible à aucun de nosdits subiects en petite ou grande compagnie entrer ausdites maisons pour les rechercher ne troubler soubs pretexte des edicts precedens prohibitifs d'assemblées illicites ou autre occasion: ce qu'ils laisseront faire à nos Iuges & Officiers chacun en son regard pour y pouruoir en toute iustice & equité selon la teneur de l'edict dernier: voulons aussi que toutes personnes detenues pour le faict de ladicte religion auparauant l'ordonnance par nous faite à nostre aduenement en ceste Coronne pour leur deliurance, seront mises à pure & plaine liberté suiuant icelle ordonnance. Et la ou aucuns se seroient absentez de leurs biens & maisons & retirez hors nostre Royaume pour le fait de la religion tant seulement depuis l'aduenement à la Coronne du feu Roy François nostre trescher sieur & frere dernier decedé. Voulons & ordonnons qu'ils puissent retourner & doresnauât demourer en toute asseurance & liberté de corps & de biens sans aucune contradiction: pourueu toutesfois qu'ils viuront cy apres catholiquement & sans scandale: & s'ils ont intention faire autrement, leur permettons faire leur profit de leursdits biens: & d'eux retirer hors de cestuy nostre Royaume. Si voulons, vous mandons & ordonnons que ceste nostre presente ordonnance vous faites publier & à son de trompe & cry public par tout vostre ressort & iurisdiction: & icelle ensuiure, garder & obseruer inuiolablement de poinct en poinct selon sa forme & teneur, procedans contre les infracteurs par la rigueur d'icelle, car tel est nostre plaisir. Donné à Fontainebleau le dixneuf iesme iour d'Auril l'an de grace mil cinq cents soixante & vn apres Pasques, & de nostre Regne le premier.

Et estoit escrit au dessous, Par le Roy en son conseil. Signé de L'AVBESPINE.
Et sellé du grand seau sur cire iaulne en simple queue.

Leu & publié en l'audience & siege presidial de Caen, & par les carrefours de ladite ville le vendredy deux iesme iour de May mil cinq cents soixante & vn.

On les vend chez Pierre Philippe.

Fig. 11.2   Par le roy en son conseil, 1561

THE RECEPTION OF CALVINISM IN BRITAIN

I. *The Problem of British Calvinism*

Anyone coming to this subject for the first time might notice at once the reluctance of many British scholars active in the field to acknowledge the Anglican church of the sixteenth century as fully Calvinist. True, all specialists who have devoted themselves to the doctrine and practice of the English church will acknowledge that Anglicanism had Calvinistic features, not least a personal affection for Calvin's writings and a general fidelity to the reformer's theology; nevertheless most argue that the particular features of English Anglicanism are sufficient to deny it full membership in the family of European Calvinist churches.

One of the best examples of this style of argumentation can be found in Patrick Collinson's elegant article on England and International Calvinism in the collected volume on International Calvinism edited by Menna Prestwich.[1] His careful, subtle formulation makes an excellent starting point for this discussion. By the 1580s, Collinson contends:

> Calvinism, if it meant anything, no longer signified Geneva and the churches that looked to Geneva for guidance, but a loose and free alliance of churches, universities, academies and other intellectual, political and spiritual resources located in France, the Netherlands, South-West Germany, England and Scotland, not to speak of more distant outposts....All of this must be borne in mind as we concede that the Church of England was putting down its anchors in the outer roads of the broad harbour of the Calvinist or (better) Reformed Tradition.[2]

Note the extreme caution of this formulation: "outer roads"; "Calvinist (or better) Reformed tradition.' But Collinson's formula probably represents as close as we will get to a consensus position. The Anglican church of the Elizabethan period was essentially Calvinistic in doctrine,

---

[1] Patrick Collinson, "England and International Calvinism, 1558–1640," in Menna Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 197–223.
[2] Ibid., 215.

so much so that it is customary to talk of the "Calvinist consensus" of the Elizabethan church, a consensus fundamentally challenged only in the 1620s.[3] Nevertheless its aberrant position on church discipline, and its affection for bishops, makes it something less than a fully Calvinist church.

There are several aspects of this construction that are worth testing. For anyone standing somewhat outside the intricacies of the debate, the insistence on the distinctiveness and separation of the English church can be somewhat puzzling. For despite Collinson's caution, the general stress on the peculiarity of English Calvinism carries with it the implication that, England apart, Calvinism was a quite clearly defined system, into which a number of the main continental Calvinist churches can comfortably be placed. Yet from the perspective of scholars whose primary focus has been on these continental churches, it is clear that the individuality which British writers claim for Anglicanism, allegedly taking it away from the Calvinist mainstream, was every bit as characteristic of other European churches.

For instance, those familiar with recent writings on Dutch Calvinism know that much scholarly debate has concentrated on the question of whether the Dutch Reformed Church, as it emerged in the new free northern state, was not characterized by such variety of belief and practice, that to speak of it as "Calvinist" is inappropriate.[4] Certainly if discipline is to be regarded as the touchstone of a fully Calvinistic system, then the Netherlands can hardly be made to qualify, since fewer than 15 percent of the population ever became full confessing members of the church.[5]

Similarly in the French church, an assumption of allegiance to Genevan practice and doctrine is more a function of the comparatively underdeveloped state of research, and poor survival of sources than a

---

[3] For the "Calvinist consensus" see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism*, rev. paperback ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Peter G. Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church, 1570–1635," *Past and Present* 114 (1987): 32–76.

[4] Willem Nijenhuis, "Variants within Dutch Calvinism in the Sixteenth Century," *Low Countries History Yearbook* 12 (1979), 48–64. Alastair Duke, "The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561–1618," in Prestwich, *International Calvinism*, 109–34.

[5] A. Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen & Slijkgeuzen* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974); idem, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 260–79. Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie* (The Hague, 1989).

reflection of historical reality. Ministers trained in Geneva dominated in the larger city churches; elsewhere men from a bewildering variety of backgrounds intruded themselves into a ministry which the Calvinist synodical structure struggled to control. And even when most of its energies were necessarily bent towards a struggle for physical and political survival, as in the 1560s, the French church was still riven by fundamental divisions over doctrine and church practice, as in the long-running controversies raised by the writings of Jean Morély.[6]

A scholar of these continental churches coming fresh to a consideration of English Anglicanism might justly observe that if the Anglican church were entitled to withdraw on the grounds of variety of practice and doctrine, little would remain of International Calvinism. Even Scotland, which is often regarded as the most perfect model of a Calvinist polity outside Geneva, had several idiosyncratic features.

Certainly Calvin himself, in his theological considerations of what constituted a true church, imposed no such demanding tests of total conformity. If we look at Calvin's writings to establish his view of this question, we will see that his own perspective was remarkably relaxed.[7] The visible church comprised, in his opinion, the "whole multitude of men spread over the earth who profess to worship one God and Christ." He did not expect such churches to achieve perfect conformity in ceremonies, and he warned that "we must not thoughtlessly forsake the church because of any petty dissensions."[8]

His actions and counsel to other churches demonstrate that such convictions did inform Calvin's actions in practice as well as theory. When in 1553 the new French-speaking refugee congregation in Lutheran Wesel was ordered to conform to the local ceremonies, their ministers' first inclination was to refuse and seek a more hospitable refuge elsewhere. But Calvin, to their surprise, advised them to put aside their scruples and rather conform "in all those ceremonies, which do not have a

---

[6] Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Calvinist Movement* (Geneva: Droz, 1967). Philippe Denis and Jean Rott, *Jean Morély (ca. 1524–ca. 1594) et l'Utopie d'une démocratie dans l'église* (Geneva: Droz, 1993). For a commentary on the poor survival of sources for French Calvinism see the introduction to Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, and Andrew Pettegree, eds., *Calvinism in Europe: A Collection of Documents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

[7] This paragraph follows the crisp survey of this question by Alastair Duke in the introduction to Pettegree, Duke, and Lewis, eds., *Calvinism in Europe*, 2.

[8] *Institutes*, p. 1026.

decisive influence on our faith, so that the unity of the church is not disturbed either by our excessive severity or timidity."[9]

Calvin clearly regarded the churches of other Protestant confessions as true churches. His definition of the indispensable characteristics of a true church—pure preaching of the Word and administration of the sacraments—was almost certainly influenced by his desire not to put up barriers against ecumenical overtures towards the German Lutherans. If Calvin regarded the exercise of congregational discipline as in practical terms highly desirable, then it was only later writers who added this as an indispensable third mark. This is something worth bearing in mind as we consider the later presbyterian assault on the Anglican church, "but half reformed."

What then are we to make of English Calvinism in this context? What I propose here will address the question from a somewhat different angle from that of most of the writers who have concerned themselves with analyzing the theological nature of sixteenth-century Anglicanism. For rather than address this question through analysis of texts, and testing the theological formulas found therein against this or that test of Calvinist orthodoxy, I will offer a series of observations from a rather different perspective. What follows is divided into three parts. First, I offer a consideration of the Elizabethan settlement of 1559, the crucial events of which decisively established the essential pattern from which English worship would not then substantially deviate. Second, I present some thoughts on the influence and importance of Calvin's writings in England, based on data from surviving books lists and testamentary material. Finally, I offer some briefer reflections on the knotty problem of discipline.

II. *Calvin and the Elizabethan Settlement*

If we are to take the temperature of English Protestantism in the Elizabethan period, there is no denying that the religious settlement of 1559 represents the crucial defining event. English Protestants were not to know that this would be the final state of official religion, from

---

[9] Duke, *Calvinism in Europe*; cf. Pettegree, "The London Community and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy, 1553–1560," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987): 223–52.

which the queen was not to be moved forward to a church settlement in total conformity with the best continental practice; but that indeed proved to be the case. That being so, it is important to establish a view of what Elizabeth and her close advisors were intending during the complicated parliamentary maneuvers from which the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity finally emerged.

Given the importance of the issues at stake, it is not surprising that these matters have been the subject of intense historical debate.[10] For most of the period since the sixteenth century, indeed from the first decades of the Elizabethan period until the 1950s, writers who commented on the settlement were content with a pleasingly obvious explanation, that a Protestant queen enacted a Protestant settlement over the determined opposition of those most wedded to Marian Catholicism, principally the bench of bishops. In the 1950s, however, this view was turned on its head by an influential article by the distinguished parliamentary historian John Ernest Neale.[11] According to Neale, the settlement which emerged at the conclusion of this troubled parliament was far from what the queen had originally intended. Elizabeth's personal preference had been for something far more moderate and less decisively Protestant. The Royal Supremacy would be assumed once more, but religious observance would be patterned according to the first (and therefore to Catholics more acceptable) Edwardian Prayer Book of 1549. It was opposition from a determined Protestant pressure group in the House of Commons that eventually drove Elizabeth into accepting a more radical settlement, based on the more fully Protestant second Edwardian Prayer Book of 1552. The final shape of the Elizabethan settlement could, in this reading, be attributed to the effective marshalling of parliamentary force to persuade a reluctant queen to move beyond her own more conservative inclinations.

The significance of this proposed reinterpretation is immediately obvious, for if Neale's view is accepted, the fault line around which the battles of the later Elizabethan period were fought, between Elizabeth and her later puritan critics, was established right from the beginning of the reign. But recently the tide has shifted against Neale, notably with

---

[10] The literature on the Elizabethan Settlement is well reviewed in Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute. Parliament and the Settlement of Religion 1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982).

[11] J. E. Neale, "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity," *English Historical Review* 65 (1950): 304–32.

the publication in 1982 of Norman Jones' painstaking reconstruction of the events of the parliament. Jones, in effect reinstates the received view: that the settlement of 1559 was by and large that which the queen and her close advisors intended.[12]

Jones's arguments carry considerable weight. Neale never presented his reconstruction as anything more than an hypothesis, and on several critical points his evidential base has been found to be weak. Most critical writing has concentrated its fire on Neale's postulation of an organized "puritan" lobby in the House of Commons, but two other crucial aspects of his argument fail to stand up to scrutiny: his assumption of the queen's innate conservatism and his suggestion that the earlier Edwardian Prayer Book of 1549 was ever seriously canvassed as an option in 1559. Here Neale's evidence is a mixture of conjecture and a somewhat bizarre identification of the 1549 Prayer Book with the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg, for which Elizabeth occasionally expressed a rather vague affection. There was little more to this than diplomatic camouflage, of the sort the queen later proved herself a master; in England in 1559 the only realistic options were the later Prayer Book of 1552 and the more radical continental church orders canvassed by returning exiles.[13] Nor is there any real evidence that the queen herself would have favored a return to anything akin to Henrician Catholicism. By background, personal history, and kinship, Elizabeth was firmly wedded to Protestantism, as all contemporary commentators immediately realized.[14]

If Neale's thesis must therefore largely be consigned to oblivion, the question still remains to be answered why Elizabeth ultimately drew back from the full reform agenda being urged on her by exiles returning from the Protestant cities of Europe. Here Calvin's personal role and reputation in England at this time become relevant, and in some respects, it may be argued, played a decisive role. This is clear if one attempts a brief reconstruction of events from Calvin's own point of view. In company with all other continental Protestant reformers, Calvin welcomed Elizabeth's accession as a providential liberation from

---

[12] Jones, *Faith by Statute*.

[13] I develop this argument more fully in Andrew Pettegree, "The Marian Exiles and the Elizabethan Settlement," in my *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).

[14] See, for instance, the comments of the Spanish ambassador at the beginning of the reign. *Calendar of State Papers; Spanish, 1558–1567*, p. 7. Protestant observers were equally confident of the queen's instinctive allegiance to their cause.

the Roman tyranny of her sister; one of a sequence of providential events in this remarkable year which undoubtedly proved God's favor for the Protestant cause.[15] And the Genevan reformer did not neglect necessary practical steps to encourage the new queen along the paths of righteousness. On 15 January 1559 (the date of Elizabeth's coronation), he sent her a copy of his Isaiah commentary, together with a letter dedicating the work to her. Reminding her of the excellent work accomplished in the reign of her brother Edward VI, Calvin urged Elizabeth to raise up the poor persecuted flock of Christ, to receive back the exiles scattered abroad, and ultimately to ensure that true religion was quickly restored to its former splendor.[16] Two weeks later a further letter to William Cecil, Elizabeth's new first minister, reinforced this message with a new admonition to unflinching pursuit of the paths of righteousness.[17]

Calvin was due a rude awakening. A second letter to Cecil later in this crucial spring period is very different in tone: at once aggrieved, defensive, and conciliating. It is worth quoting here:

> The messenger to whom I gave in charge my commentaries upon Isaiah to be presented to the most serene Queen brought me word that my homage was not kindly received by her Majesty, because she had been offended with me by reason of some writings published in this place. He also repeated to me, most illustrious sir, the substance of a conversation held by you, in which you seemed to me more severe than was consistent with your courtesy, especially when you had been already assured by my letter how much I promised myself from your regard towards me.[18]

The point at issue here, as Calvin's letter goes on to acknowledge, was John Knox's notorious *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, published in Geneva with ghastly and quite unprovidential timing just before Elizabeth's accession.[19] Calvin denied having any knowledge of its publication, but for Elizabeth the name of the

---

[15] Jean-Daniel Benoit, "L'année 1559 dans les annales calviniennes," *Revue d'Histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 39 (1959): 103–16.

[16] *Joannis Calvini commentarii in Isaiam prophetam* (Geneva, Crespin, 1559). Rodolphe Peter and Jean-François Gilmont, eds., *Bibliotheca Calviniana*, vol. 2: 1555–1564 (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 59/1.

[17] *CO* 17:418–20.

[18] *CO* 17:490–92. The translation is from *Letters of John Calvin*, ed. Jules Bonnet, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Constable/Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1855–58,) vol. 4: no. 538.

[19] John Knox, *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558) [STC 15070].

Genevan reformer was indelibly associated with this most unfortunate
production of the Genevan press.

How damaging this might be for exponents of the Genevan reform,
Calvin was immediately aware; hence his hurried (and rather uncon-
vincing) attempts to distance himself from Knox's book. But the scale
of Elizabeth's anger only becomes clear if we take into account the
evidence of another contemporary source, a letter previously buried in
the archives of the north German town of Emden and, therefore, not
known to other scholars who have worked on the Elizabethan settle-
ment.[20] The author, Anthony Ashe, had recently arrived in London
as the delegate of the refugee congregation in Emden. He had been
sent to negotiate the reopening of John a Lasco's London foreign con-
gregations, which had been shut up during Mary's reign. As his letter
makes clear, this proved to be a more arduous negotiation than had
first been anticipated. Right up until the last moment the full settle-
ment of religion for which Protestants so ardently hoped still hung in
the balance, as optimistic hopes of a smooth return to godly worship
were frustrated by bitter parliamentary opposition. Further there were
worrying indications that the godly were drifting out of favor, appar-
ently largely as a reaction to Knox's book. Ashe reports that a house
to house search had been initiated to track down copies, and three of
the godly had even been arrested. The designation "extreme predesti-
narians" hints at the extent to which Geneva, Knox, and the defining
doctrine of the Genevan reform had become associated in the eyes
and minds of the Council.

The evidence from Ashe's letter is, I think, helpful in understand-
ing why Calvin's personal relationship with Elizabeth got off to such a
shaky start. And it may offer the key to understanding why Elizabeth,
having set in train an essentially mainstream Protestant settlement,
nevertheless made a point of insisting on a more conservative rubric
on ceremonies and ecclesiastical accoutrements. For all her personal
allegiance to Protestantism, Elizabeth was clearly determined to preserve
independence and freedom of action in matters of church government.
Her perverse insistence on items of ecclesiastical furniture which gave
pain to her loyal Protestant admirers was one way of emphasizing that
she would not be dictated to by the continental centers of reform; that
their practice should not be prescriptive for England. Many of the later

---

[20] The full text is published in English translation in Pettegree, "Marian Exiles and
the Elizabethan Settlement."

disputes which rent the Anglican church might have been avoided if the godly had had the insight to perceive that Elizabeth's attachment to conservative ceremonial usage was in this sense largely symbolic.

III. *Calvin and the Theology of the Anglican Church*

1. *Calvin's Writings in England*

In personal terms Calvin may therefore be said to have made a shaky beginning to the new reign; so much so, in fact, that the new minister of the French church in London, Nicholas des Gallars, could frankly warn his mentor in Geneva that the mention of Calvin's name would undoubtedly harm the church in any sensitive negotiations with the English administration.[21] If this was the case, how then did Calvin's reputation recover from this early battering; and indeed recover so effectively that later writers talk not of "extreme predestinarians" in the negative sense indicated by the letter of Ashe quoted above, but of the Anglican church being dominated by a "Calvinist consensus"?

Clearly the influence of Calvin's writings and theology was not slow to penetrate England; but just how rapidly, and with what effectiveness is again a somewhat debated question. The most common approach is to acknowledge Calvin's great influence in England as a writer, but to argue that Calvin was in effect no more than the first among equals: that what was transmitted into English thought and theology was not pure Calvinism but a more variegated and attenuated "Reformed" tradition. This is a solution which of course has the great advantage of preserving the individuality to which English writers are so firmly wedded.

The core of this argument is the belief that English writers and theologians looked upon Zurich and its reformers as providing theological guidance as authoritative as that of Calvin and his heirs: hence diluting the influence of "pure" Genevan theology. Examples of this style of argumentation can be found in the works of the several leading authorities on English Protestantism in this period. Thus Christopher Mattinson Dent, in his study of theology in Oxford:

---

[21] Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London: Jonathan Cape 1979), 132.

> For the first two decades of the reign, Oxford men viewed Zurich as a centre of reform at least as significant as Geneva. The writings of Calvin and his successor, Beza, had by no means achieved the total dominance in English minds claimed by those who equate the influence of the continental reformed tradition with the dissemination of Calvin's Institutes, catechisms, and commentaries.[22]

And here is Collinson in similar vein.

> The student who has only heard of "Calvinism" must learn that English theologians were as likely to lean on Bullinger of Zurich, Musculus of Berne, or Peter Martyr as on Calvin or Beza.[23]

Statements of this sort, even from such a distinguished source, deserve a degree of analytical testing. One's suspicions are somewhat aroused by the fact that subsequent argumentation seldom demonstrates convincingly and specifically how the theological variety alleged to have dominated the reading of English divines actually influenced their own doctrinal views on, say, grace and predestination. Dent's evidence of the continuing influence of Zurich in Elizabethan Oxford consists mostly of personal contacts, rather than theological influences. There is also a real danger of reading the controversies of the early seventeenth century back into the sixteenth century, and by implication enrolling Bullinger and the Zurich writers as honorary Arminians. This would be perverse, not least in view of Dent's argument that the influence of Zurich was in any case waning by the 1580s.

Let us try to shed a little light on this question by quantifying what English readers actually read. To approach this matter I have conducted an analysis of the data presented in Elisabeth Leedham-Green's two-volume survey of books recorded in the wills of Cambridge testators.[24] This is extremely valuable information because very often the whole of a testator's collection was inventoried, along with titles and prices. This material is much more valuable as an index of what continental literature was actually penetrating England than, for instance, the holdings of College libraries, since libraries had the tendency constantly to replace popular books with later editions, thus distorting the historian's

---
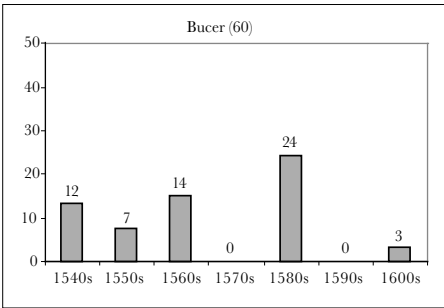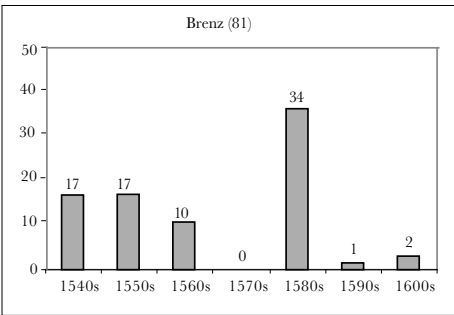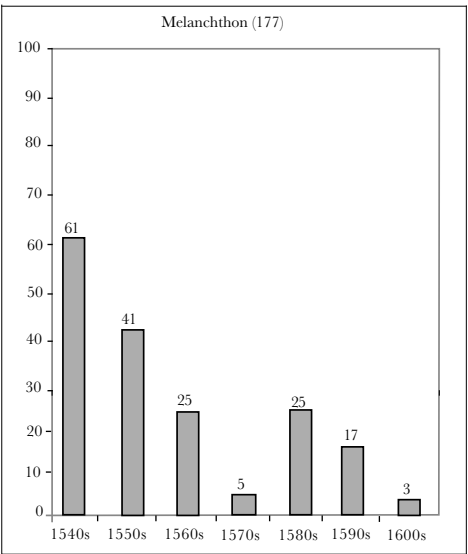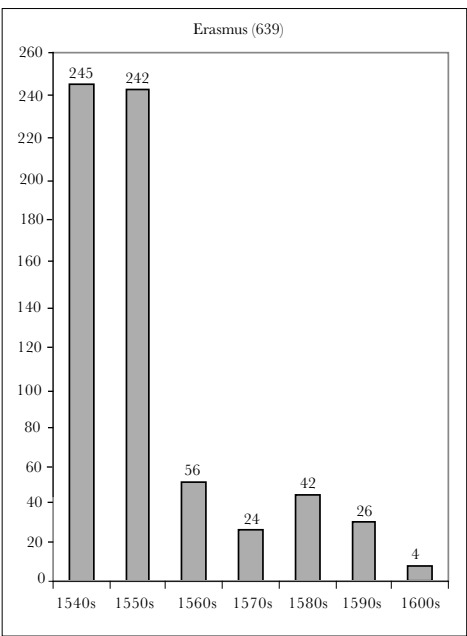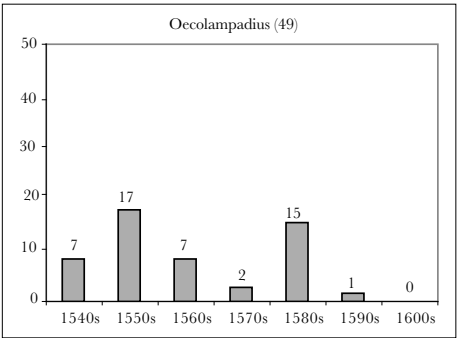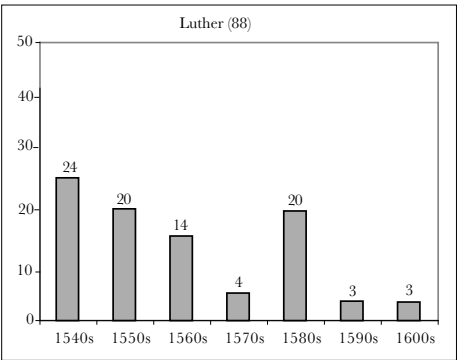
Fig. 12.1   Copies of Works left in
Cambridge Wills, 1540–1610
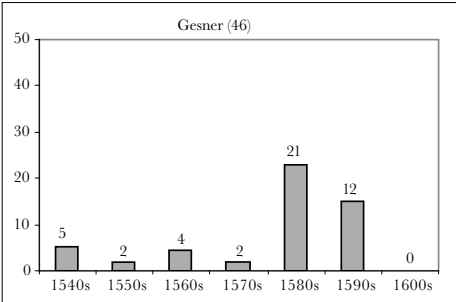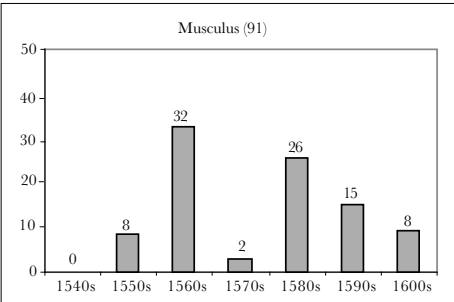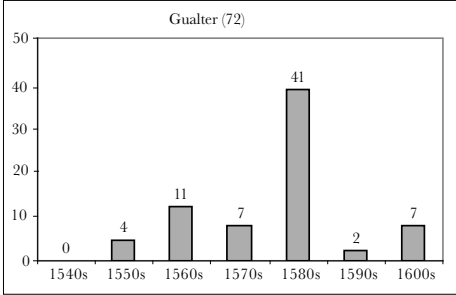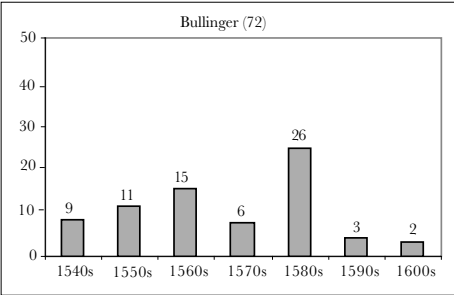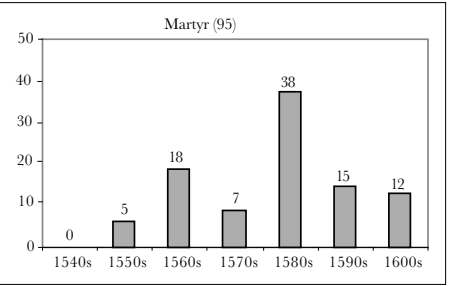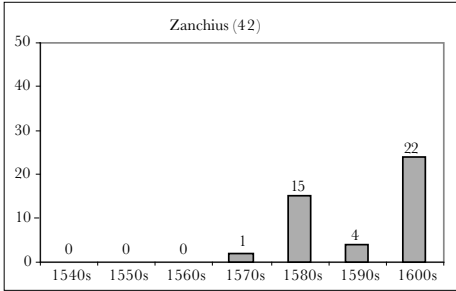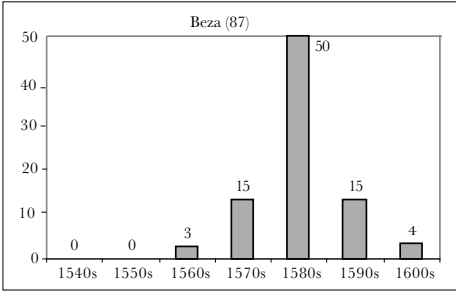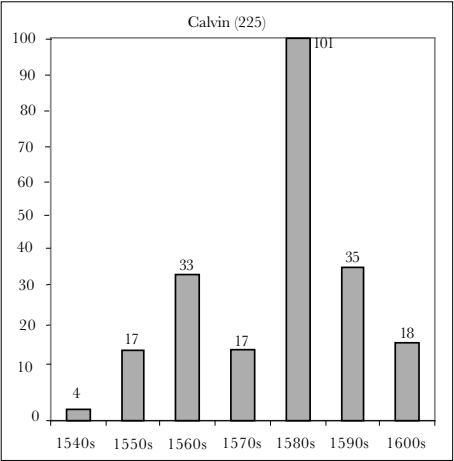
Fig. 12.1(*cont.*) Copies of Works left in Cambridge Wills, 1540–1610

view of their sixteenth-century holdings. As Dent points out, the fact
that several of the Oxford college collections contain no copies of six-
teenth-century editions of Calvin's works will indicate that these were
used and replaced, rather than that none were bought.[25]

Testamentary evidence is not, of course, without its own difficulties.
In this particular sample the presence of a larger number of collec-
tions inventoried in the 1580s accounts for a bulge in that decade in
virtually every author's totals. Inventories are also more likely to record
individually large expensive books than small volumes, and thus there
will be a bias towards Latin works over the vernacular. The Cambridge
provenance of these wills increases the bias towards scholarly and
Latin works. And the astonishing near absence of some books known
to be popular from other sources—as for instance John Foxe's *Acts and
Monuments*—suggests that wills cannot be a wholly reliable guide to
what English Protestants were actually reading.[26] In the case of Foxe,
a book which achieved almost canonical status in Elizabeth's reign,
scholars were presumably making use of college copies for what was
in any case a costly book for personal purchase.

Nevertheless the results of this survey are quite suggestive. They
confirm, firstly, the preeminent position of Calvin as the dominant
theological influence in Elizabeth England. The total number of
editions of Calvin's works left in these wills easily outstrips all other
continental contemporaries, a supremacy reinforced if one removes the
first two columns (which reveal the rather surprising early popularity of
Melanchthon's works). Of the other "Genevans" the figures highlight
the gradual emergence of Beza, the rapid increase in popularity of
Zanchius's writings towards the end of the century, and the continued
interest in England in the writings of Peter Martyr Vermigli. On the
Swiss-German writers the evidence is more ambiguous. Bullinger,
Musculus and Rudolph Gualter were all much read in Elizabethan
England, but these figures tend to confirm Dent's suggestion of a sharply
declining popularity in the 1590s and early seventeenth century.

The German Lutheran authors were not left without a voice, mainly
because of the continued interest in the writings of Brenz; but Luther
himself was apparently not much read in England in the second half

---

[25] Dent, *Protestant Reformers*, 93.
[26] The Cambridge inventories list only three copies of John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*.

of the sixteenth century.[27] Overall Brenz proved as popular an author
as Beza, but declining in influence through the reign, whereas all the
Genevans were on a strongly upward curve. By the 1580s all the writers
of the first generation had effectively been superseded, with the excep-
tion of Calvin. In this context it is interesting to note the enormous
but sharply declining popularity of Erasmus. Clearly he was the man
primarily for an age of uncertainty.

   One striking feature of these lists is the fact that English authors are
scarcely represented. These Cambridge inventories list only eleven cop-
ies of books by William Perkins, and five by Thomas Cartwright. One
could argue that as a sample of English reading such a survey is unfair.
Wills are bound to have a bias against English books, since small cheap
books tended to be grouped together at the end of inventories instead
of being individually listed; this is particularly the case in a scholarly
community like Cambridge. But if we turn to different data concerned
exclusively with vernacular editions the dominance of Calvin, even as
an English author, is hardly disturbed.

2. *Sixteenth-Century Translations of Calvin's Works*

Figure 12.2 reproduces graphically Francis Higman's analysis of Calvin's
works in translation, using data gathered by Jean-François Gilmont for
his revised Calvin bibliography.[28] England, on this evidence, was far and
away the biggest market for Calvin's works in translation; and it is worth
bearing in mind that these editions were very often substantial tomes,
such as the near complete edition of Calvin's biblical commentaries
published in English in the 1580s.

3. *English Translations of Works of Continental and Leading English Authors*

Calvin's eminence remains unchallenged even if one introduces English
authors into the equation. In terms of editions, and here relying on
data from the revised *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England,*

---

[27] Continuing demand for works by Lutherans scholars in England is also revealed by
the surviving booklist of an Emden publisher serving the English market. See Andrew
Pettegree, "Emden as a Centre of the Sixteenth-Century Book Trade: A Catalogue of
the Bookseller Gaspar Staphorst," *Quaerendo* 24 (1994): 114–35. This list, too, suggests
the dominant place in the market of Reformed theology.

[28] Francis Higman, "Calvin's Works in Translation," in Pettegree, Duke, and Lewis,
Calvinism in Europe, 82–99.

1475–1640, English editions of Calvin's works easily outstripped all other continental writers, and dwarfed the production of native English theologians (figure 12.3). One is tempted to argue that continental theology had established as dominant a position in the market in the sixteenth century as has Japanese technology in the twentieth.

4. *The Influence of Calvin's Writings and Theology*

To sum up: the evidence from the diverse, if somewhat unusual, measures of popularity and influence presented here suggests that whatever measure one employs Calvin emerges as the dominant force in the theology of the Elizabethan church. Whether one judges from the books collected by learned Cambridge divines, or the English translations published for the wider market, Calvin reigns supreme: and indeed, to judge by the comparison with other nations suggested by Francis Higman's figures, English readers had a particular affection for the Genevan reformer. Higman goes on briefly to analyze the translators and patrons of Calvin's English works, concluding that they included in roughly equal measure figures from the theological mainstream of the English church and members of the self-consciously godly.[29] That may indeed have been the secret of Calvin's success: the ability to appeal simultaneously to both the Elizabethan establishment and the emerging radical opposition. In this crucial respect, the "Calvinist consensus" of the Angelical church did remain largely intact.

IV. *Discipline*

Of course there was more to the making of the Elizabethan church than this. To say that members of the Elizabethan establishment and their critics both honored the Genevan reformer, is not to say that they were necessarily agreed on the extent to which Genevan precepts for church organization and community life should be followed in practice. Here we may with profit refer to a useful distinction proposed by a number of writers on English Calvinism, who while acknowledging the general acceptance of the Calvinist theology of salvation suggest that it could be interpreted in radically different ways, and with important

---

[29] Higman, "Calvin's Works in Translation," 88–99.
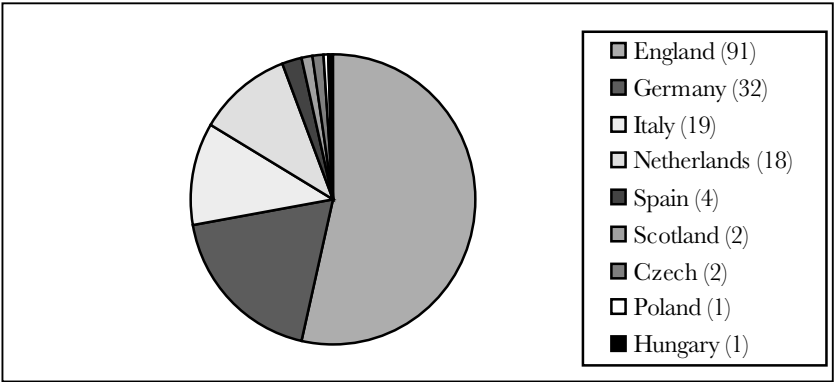
Fig. 12.2   Sixteenth-Century Translations of Calvin's Work
into Foreign Vernaculars
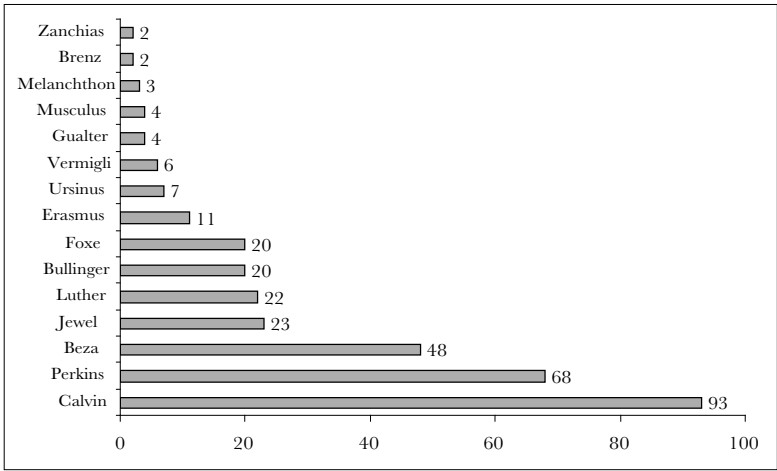
Fig. 12.3   Editions in English of Works by Continental Reformers and
leading English authors

results for the writers' views of the developing Anglican church. Thus R. R. Kendall and Peter Lake both postulate a clear line of division between what they call "credal" and "experimental" predestinarians.[30] Credal Calvinists, while they might agree wholeheartedly with the formal content of Calvinist predestinarianism, had no impulse to take the doctrine into the popular pulpit, or to derive a view of the Christian community from it. Experimental predestinarians, in contrast, wanted to place their view of predestination, election, and assurance at the center of their practical divinity, to erect a style of piety on the foundations provided by a Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and to define the godly community in terms of those who both understood the doctrines and acted upon them.

As with most aspects of this subject this distinction has by no means won general acceptance, and there is no doubt that such hard and fast positions bear only a tenuous relationship to the more subtle realities of Elizabethan ecclesiastical politics, where the ground of public debate was constantly shifting in response to swings of opinion at court and, perhaps more compellingly, external events. But it does draw attention to one undoubted truth, that it was possible to share in the wide-ranging theological consensus which underpinned the Elizabethan church and still be deeply disappointed at the practical consequences of reform.

The greatest area of disappointment was undoubtedly connected with matters of church organization and ecclesiastical discipline. As Collinson has put it, "Calvinist doctrine was far from shaping the institutional fabric of the English church."[31] This was certainly the point at which the English church most conspicuously failed to measure up to continental archetypes. English reformers concerned at the queen's unaccountable affection for certain conservative traditions at the beginning of the reign were in for a further rude awakening in 1563, when a comprehensive scheme of ecclesiastical reform was brutally arrested by an indignant royal veto.[32] Hereafter the history of organized pressure for further reformation, be it in church government or ecclesiastical ornaments, was one of the progressive alienation of those who would not accept the English church "but half reformed." The favorers of

---

[30] Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 39–40. R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[31] Collinson, "England and International Calvinism," 217.

[32] William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

discipline were driven increasingly to the margins, forced to content themselves with informal structures patterned on continental models and providing the intellectual leadership grievously neglected by the hierarchy, the prophesying movement of the 1570s, and the puritan conferences of the 1580s.[33]

Now in all of this there was a good deal of truth. It is certainly the case that those marginalized by the Elizabethan establishment looked to Geneva for models and inspiration. The most outspoken manifesto of the earnest parliamentary pressure of the first half of the reign, the *Admonition to Parliament*, put the question quite simply: "Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evil for England? Is discipline meet for Scotland? and can it be unprofitable for this realm?" Exponents of the Reformed church orders eagerly drew attention to the example of the stranger churches in the capital, which lived out their own versions of Reformed church life in the midst of the citadel of Anglicanism. In this connection it is highly relevant that the *Admonition to Parliament* was published only after the failure of a parliamentary bill which would have legalized the use of the stranger churches' liturgies in parish churches.[34]

1. *The School of Christ in Geneva*

Thus, increasingly, English reformers tested the English settlement against the paradigm of Geneva, and found it wanting. The favorers of further institutional change hurled Calvin back in the face of members of the Establishment who they knew honored the man and read his works. Criticism of the state of English church life and morals was almost inevitably spiced with routine praise of the contrasting state of affairs in Geneva. John Reynolds, preaching in Oxford in the mid 1580s, compared the state of Oxford unfavorably with the School of Christ in Geneva. In Oxford there should be no drunkenness, beggars, whoring, or dancing: but all was not well. The implication was clear: none of this would be tolerated in the city of Calvin and Beza.[35]

---

[33] Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967).

[34] Patrick Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 20 (1964): 518–55.

[35] Dent, *Protestant Reformers*, 182.

But was this denigration of English morals and church order, set against a demanding standard of continental perfection, really fair? As before, I wish to enter a number of qualifications which would militate against too absolute a separation between the developing values of English Anglicanism and the continental Calvinist mainstream. Firstly, one must question the purity of orthodox Calvinist criticism where it relates to English episcopacy. Although critics of the Elizabethan church settlement inevitably came to see bishops as a principal obstacle to change, Calvin himself had no prescriptive view on the question. As the *Institutes* make clear, Calvin was quite comfortable with a variety of forms of church organization, and his views on the government or the church were no more prescriptive than on secular authority. It was Beza who first introduced a strong exception to episcopacy. As Collinson has pointed out, one may trace very effectively in Beza's correspondence his movement from a cautious familiarity with the English bishops at the beginning of the reign, to a largely negative appraisal of English conditions, in particular a hardening contempt for diocesan episcopacy as lordly dominion. But even Beza was not necessarily prepared to express such views directly to members of the English establishment; he was too much of the ecclesiastical politician for that.[36] But the movement in Beza's views does make the point that the increasingly negative assessment of English church government was not fundamental to Calvinism, but a reaction to a developing sense of disappointment.

The same point could be made in relation to English presbyterianism, and the presbyterian assault on English church government. Presbyterian critics of the English church identified the root cause of the failure to combat both structural problems in the church and a widespread moral failure within the population with the defective scheme of congregational government, in other words the failure to institutionalize Calvinist church structures. But within this criticism lay a slightly misinformed view of the Genevan model. English presbyterianism was a later variation, as becomes clear if one examines a statement of presbyterian goals. According to Lake's definition, presbyterianism was a form of church government which vested ecclesiastical power first in the individual congregation, and then in a hierarchy of synods. The congregation was ruled by ministers and elders, and served by deacons collecting for their poor, all of which officers were elected by the

---

[36] Collinson, "England and International Calvinism," 210–11.

congregation. The system was predicated on a sharp division between civil and ecclesiastical power, the discipline effectively excluding the lay power from the day-to-day running of the church.[37]

This was a demanding standard to which Geneva itself could hardly match up. Geneva, in fact, left an extensive role for the magistrates in church affairs. This was something which harassed city governments would occasionally throw back in the faces of ministers who they thought had overreached themselves. When in 1576 the States of Holland and the local Reformed ministers were in dispute over who should elect ministers in the new state churches, the States wrote into their draft preamble a lengthy statement in which they pointed out that it was their proposed model, and not the autonomous congregational model proposed by the ministers, which in fact reflected the Genevan practice.[38]

This was more than just a debating point. It demonstrated that the foreign admirers of the Genevan polity were to a large extent attempting to impose on their own local conditions a highly idealized view of the Genevan system, and one which distorted crucial elements to their own advantage. Geneva was a "perfect school of Christ's church" only in John Knox's nostalgic imagination. One only has to read some of Calvin's sermons, in which he denounces the inadequacies of the local population in the most pungent terms to realize this. "The world is so disorderly that the impiety I can see in Geneva today is of such enormity that it is like seeing down a chasm into the very mouth of hell."[39] That was Calvin's own view of the "perfect school of Christ." It is ironic that the time when English presbyterians were attempting to build their idealized Geneva was precisely when Geneva itself was receding in influence, and the Genevan church polity was itself increasingly under strain.[40]

---

[37] Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterian and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 1–2.

[38] C. Hooijer, *Oude Kerkordeningen der Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeenten (1563–1638)*, 121, 126–31. Cf. the translated extracts in Duke, Lewis and Pettegree, *Calvinism Documents*, here at 179.

[39] Duke, Lewis, and Pettegree, *Calvinism Documents*, 33.

[40] Gillian Lewis, "Calvinism in Geneva in the Time of Calvin and Beza, 1541–1608," in Prestwich, *International Calvinism*, 39–70.

2. *Critics of the English Church*

Critics of the English church particularly regretted that in the absence of an effective congregational discipline the enforcement of a strict morality became well nigh impossible. Denunciations of moral degeneracy rife among the broad mass of the population became a commonplace in Elizabethan England, though one would think hardly more so than in other places in the Reformation century. But just as new work has suggested the essential unfairness of Calvin's designation of his domestic opponents as "libertines," reluctant to accept his own stricter concept of discipline,[41] it seems now that contemporary English critics who lamented the absence of a Genevan discipline grossly exaggerated the contrast between this and a truly Reformed society. A recent study of attitudes to sexual disorder and incontinence in Elizabethan England by the social historian Martin Ingram has called attention to the remarkable similarity between the social values which existed in this society and in congregations governed by a Genevan-style consistory. It appears that English communities were governed, as one might expect, by a widespread consensus condemning illicit sexuality, and neighbourly pressure could be exerted very effectively against those who infringed commonly held standards of decency.[42]

Equally, contemporary critics of English society did less than justice to the extent to which Calvinist preaching exercised an effective influence on wide areas of social behavior. In this respect the watershed decade seems to have been the 1580s, for it was then that apparently "Puritan" attitudes to important social institutions began to become generalized throughout society. One can identify the effects of this creeping influence on literature, drama, in attitudes to religious art and popular religious culture, and in increasingly rigorous attitudes to the Sabbath.[43] In fact the English Sunday was a much more rigorous affair than in many apparently more fully Calvinistic societies, such as the Netherlands. English visitors to the Netherlands frequently commented

---

[41] William Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

[42] Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[43] Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1988). Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

with surprise on the extremely relaxed Dutch attitude to sabbath observance, though this was not a situation of which the Reformed *predikanten* would have been proud. But all their sermons, petitions, and threats were in vain: the magistracy turned a deaf ear, and the shops and taverns remained open.[44]

3. *Discipline and Scottish Calvinism*

This introduces one final point: the question of whether consistorial discipline was necessary for the promotion of Calvinistic social values. Alongside a recognition of the progress made by the godly in inculcating their views on proper social relations and correct forms of sociability, must be placed a much less romanticized view of the real effectiveness of consistorial discipline in promoting general obedience to Calvinist moral values. The best laboratory for such an investigation is probably Scotland, not least because its honored place as a mainstream Calvinist system has never seemed in much doubt. Certainly the leaders of the Scottish kirk had an opportunity which their Dutch brethren would have envied to subject the whole of their population to Calvinist moral regulation, acting in consort with a lay power which did not, as in the Netherlands, limit the effective control of the discipline to a small minority who became full confessing members of the church. In this respect Scotland had a real opportunity to be the nation state most nearly in tune with the Genevan model of a close cooperation of church and state to impose a strict Calvinist morality.

But that is not how it turned out. Scotland was undoubtedly formed and marked by its experience of Calvinism; but not without the ministers having made real compromises in order to secure the cooperation of the lay power. The principle of an indifferent justice without respect for persons and social status was one which was necessarily speedily sacrificed in order to reconcile the local laird to what would otherwise have been a highly intrusive form of social regulation.[45]

---

[44] For English comment on the disorderly Dutch Sunday see the diary of Fynes Moryson, quoted in Martin A. Breslow, *A Mirror of England: English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations, 1618–1640* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 92–93. Andrew Pettegree, "Coming to Terms with Victory: The Upbuilding of a Calvinist Church in Holland, 1572–1590," in Pettegree, Duke, and Lewis, *Calvinism in Europe*, 160–80.

[45] Michael Graham, "Social Discipline in Scotland, 1560–1610," in Raymond A. Mentzer, ed., *Sin and the Calvinists: Moral Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 32 (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994); idem, "The Civil Sword and the Scottish Kirk, 1560–1600," in

In the same way, Calvinism in Scotland proved itself in at least one respect highly adaptable to local cultural forms, in order to win an influential role in a highly traditional society. I am thinking here primarily of Calvinism in the Highlands, the Celtic speaking Gaidhealtachd, so elegantly surveyed in a recent article by Jane Dawson.[46] Not only did the Calvinist missionaries find ways to inculcate loyalties to the new church in an essentially nonliterate culture, largely by shrewd alliances with clan leaders, they also soothed the misgivings of local folk by accepting parts of the local culture which one would normally have expected to be abhorrent to right-thinking Calvinists. These included a variety of supernatural practices which Gaelic Calvinist ministers accepted as deeply ingrained, and as a not particularly harmful or threatening part of local cultural observances.

It is a remarkable story and brings us face to face with the flexibility of a system which is sometimes unfairly characterized as rigid and dogmatic. Perhaps contemporaries understood better than have modern historians, that differences of custom and practice did not necessarily take churches such as the English Anglican church out of the Calvinist family. The fact that English preachers lamented the imperfections of their own church, as is the proper function of preachers in any age, should not be read as a sweeping condemnation of English Anglicanism, nor as a negation of its essential Reformed, Calvinistic roots. Loyalty and affinity can be expressed in various ways, some not always well understood in ages with different social mores. But when the cause of International Calvinism on the continent of Europe seemed to be under threat, it was to England that the brethren looked for assistance, counsel, and prayers, and with a certain confidence that their hopes would not be rebuffed.[47] It is in these circles and connections that the true nature of European Calvinism is to be found, a strongly bonded affinity from which the English church should not be discounted.

W. Fred Graham, *Later Calvinism. International Perspectives*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 22 (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994). Graham's work offers a substantially less generous view of the effectiveness of discipline in Scotland than that of Geoffrey Parker, "The 'Kirk by Law Established' and Origins of 'The Taming of Scotland': Saint Andrews, 1559–1600," also in Mentzer, *Sin and the Calvinists*, 159–97.

[46] Jane Dawson, "Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland," in Pettegree, Duke, and Lewis, *Calvinism in Europe*, 231–53.

[47] Collinson, "England and International Calvinism," 203–10. Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603–1642* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 176–223.

PRINTING AND THE REFORMATION:
THE ENGLISH EXCEPTION

It is a fundamental weakness of literature on European Protestantism that the printed book is considered almost exclusively as text and far too little as an industrial process. The printed book was one means by which the core messages of the reformers were brought to the reading public; in this it functioned alongside the sermons preached by Luther and his supporters and the wider amorphous categories of aural communication. The part played by the book in this process was undoubtedly considerable. But it could only play this part because mediaeval craft society had perfected an industrial process that seventy years before had been no more than experimental. In the first days of the printed book fortunes were wasted and hopes cruelly dashed, but within a remarkably short time the technical skills and associated industrial processes (typecasting, paper-making) were embedded in European urban society. By 1520 the book was a mature artefact and the book industry one of the fastest growing craft processes in Europe.

The impact of the book was not, however, even throughout Europe. In rural societies, somewhat distant from the centre of Europe's largest economies, print took a much smaller part in the craft world. For the purposes of printing England must be regarded as part of this outer circle, the outer ring of a two-speed Europe, for at least the first century of the book's existence. This is not always recognised by historians of the English Reformation, nor indeed by book historians. Partly this is because English bibliographers have done such a remarkable job in reconstructing the story of early English printing. Early English printed books are among the best documented, and most fully studied of all European print cultures. In celebrations of the art and artistry of Caxton and his heirs it is easy to overlook the fact that the thoroughness of this research has been largely made possible by the fact that the industry in question was so small, and thus comparatively easy to reconstruct.[1] English print culture was both relatively modest,

---

[1] One should add to this the peculiarity of English book collecting, especially the

and relatively simple, being overwhelmingly concentrated in London and Westminster; a contrast to the dispersed culture of print that was the pattern in most major continental societies.

It is my belief that the exceptional nature of English print culture has not always been fully recognised by students of the Reformation, who understandably mostly read books for their contents. Understanding is also not advanced by adopting for England broad-brush generalisations about the importance of print normally based on the German experience (which is not in fact normative for other European cultures, such as France, never mind England). Reflections on the size, capacities and organisation of the English printing industry in fact encourage some rather different perspectives on how the first generation of English Protestants responded to the opportunities raised by the continental evangelical movement.

II

Let us begin by reviewing the process by which a sixteenth century book is made. An understanding of what is involved in these processes will be important if we are to appreciate the technical constraints that governed the growth of an English printing industry. To begin the process of creation a text is brought into a print-shop, by an author, a bookseller or by another interested party who is prepared to bear the cost (he would be the publisher). The manuscript is marked up in blocks that will correspond to pages of type, and the compositor then begins to set up the text pages of one side of a sheet. The individual metal types are composed line by line, and then transferred into the 'form', the metal frame on to which the paper will be impressed. Remember for a book in octavo (that is eight leaves to a sheet), the most popular size for small vernacular books, the first plate (the observe of the sheet) will have the text of pages 4, 13, 16 and 1 facing (the other way up) pages 5, 7, 9 and 8. The second page of the gathering will be on the second form, for printing the reverse of the sheet. It is for this reason that accuracy in blocking out the body of text for each sheet is essential.

---

dominance of the three major libraries, the British Library, Bodleian and Cambridge University Library. This made possible the compilation of the first edition of the *Short-Title Catalogue* at a remarkably early date (1926); all subsequent bibliographical work rests on this solid foundation.

Once the compositor has completed this work the plate of the completed text will be fixed to the press, inked, and a sheet of paper, dampened to improve the evenness of the impression, will be pressed down with a pull of the press. Once a first proof has been hurriedly checked, the process will be repeated as many times as necessary for the required edition size. The printed sheets will be set aside to dry, possibly until the next day, when the pages of text on the reverse will be printed. The plates of type will then be broken up for the compositor to set the next sheet, and so on until the end of the book.

The mechanics of the process bring in their train certain technical limitations not always fully acknowledged. The speed at which at edition could be published was not particularly dependent on the size of the edition. Pressmen could work remarkably fast. The print shop ordinances of Geneva assume production of 1,300 copies of a single sheet, front and back, as the normal daily rate of operation for a single press.[2] This is an astonishing rate of production, implying than in a ten-hour day, the pressmen could operate a press at the rate of four pulls a minute, all day, without a break. But it also implied that the size of an edition was roughly determined by the shape of the day. There would be no great advantage of small runs (except a saving of paper), and certainly no time saving, since the reverse of each sheet could not be printed until the front side was dry. Editions therefore tend to be calculated in multiples of 700 or 1,300—a half day or full day's work for the pressmen.

Large projects would take a long time to finish. A Bible or large folio of 400 sheets might be months at the press, with very significant outlays before any money could be recouped: on wages, ink, and paper (an extremely expensive part of the whole cost). There was very little that could be done to accelerate the process. With large books it was possible to divide the book between different teams of compositors and pressmen working on two or more presses, but this added greatly to the complexity, and worked best if the book naturally divided into parts that permitted a smooth division of the text. Bibles were frequently published in this way. But adopting this strategy of course would tie up all the print-shop's presses, and so prevented the printer undertaking smaller jobs to maintain cash flow while the bigger projects were in progress.

---

[2] J.-F. Gilmont, 'Printers by the Rules', *The Library*, 6th ser., vol. 2 (1980), pp. 129–155.

The economics were daunting, and yet paradoxically the larger and more expensive the book, the larger was likely to be the size of the initial edition: all the really large edition sizes we know of (three or four thousand copies) tend to be of larger books. This was simply because the larger the book, the greater the cost of time and money in organising a reprint. It was impossible except perhaps with broad-sheet proclamations and the like to save composed sheets of type for any length of time; in most cases the type would be needed to continue to set up further reaches of the book. For a new edition, this whole laborious, time-consuming and highly skilled job would have to be done from scratch. Thus whereas for a popular pamphlet of one or two sheets, the German *Flugschriften* in quarto, or octavos in most other cultures, repeat editions were very feasible, this was not so for larger books.

These technical factors had certain consequences for the organisation of the industry. Firstly, the largest, most expensive books (and size and expense were directly related) tended to be the preserve of the largest, best-capitalised print-shops. These larger businesses also secured a large share in the market for the most profitable small books. In all European countries the privilege of printing proclamations and other official publications was eagerly sought, since works such as these offered a very steady return, and helped cash flow while more ambitious projects were in progress. These larger shops also dominated the market in illustrated books, particularly the important market in Books of Hours. Such books, while popular, required an unusually high initial investment building up the necessary stock of illustrative woodcut blocks, and this would have deterred the smallest operators.

Further, larger books, particularly Latin works, tended both to be kept in stock for longer, and to be distributed over a wider area. To a large extent the market in Latin books was one European market, with books distributed throughout the cities of Europe rather than reprinted locally. The sole possible exception among large books was the Bible, where demand was so steady and the market so large that it was possible to contemplate repeat editions.

Finally, and particularly with respect to large books, printers were far less often than is commonly assumed likely to be the originators of publication projects. Printers could—and did—dip speculatively into the market for small books, where the gap between the outlay and sale might be a matter of days or at most a few weeks. But big books needed very careful financing. This is why so many key figures in the printing industry in the incunabula age were prosperous merchants, used to

relatively long term capital investments, and familiar with the principles of spreading risk. It also suggests that historians of the book should give more attention than is customary to those who initiated and financed such projects—the publishers. This is an area where confusion is rife, since it was often the publisher, rather than the printer, who was named on the title page. Sometimes the relationship was precisely expressed ('Printed by John Day for Edward Whitchurch') but more often not.[3] In general it seems that book industry figures often combined two of the three essential functions of printer, bookseller and publisher, but seldom all three.

III

Let us apply some of the lessons of this brief technical review to the study of the English and European books markets. One can sense immediately striking differences, both between the Latin and vernacular markets, and between the book cultures of different parts of Europe. The Latin market was very large because, as has been stated, it was essentially one European market. Only the commonest school texts were likely to be reprinted locally. The most prized Latin books, the major editions of the classics and church fathers which featured so strongly in the first age of print, together with may medical and scientific texts, could only be undertaken in the largest centres of Latin printing. In the first age of print Paris and Venice established an easy and enduring supremacy in this Latin book world; later in the sixteenth century they would be joined by Antwerp, Basle and Lyon. Their products were distributed throughout Europe by a sophisticated and efficient network of book wholesalers and bookshops.

By and large this was a situation that continued for much of the sixteenth century: as the market in vernacular books expanded the Latin market remained fairly stable; a lower proportion of the whole, but still a considerable volume of books. Thus when English readers pursued

---

[3] In French books the publisher/bookseller was often named on the title page ('Imprimé pour...') and the printer only in the colophon (that is, the details of printer and date of completion sometimes added at the end of the text). As colophons fell out of fashion in the second quarter of the sixteenth century the identity of the printer, as opposed to the publisher who commissioned the project, therefore sometimes became more difficult to fathom.

fine Latin books, they inevitably looked abroad; as the market grew, booksellers simply imported more from the major centres of Latin print abroad.[4] This was a situation that had hardly changed by the end of the sixteenth century, when the English book world was robust and well established. The extent to which English readers continued to rely on foreign publishers for their Latin books can be clearly documented from surviving library catalogues, whether the first catalogues of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, or the recently published list of foreign books in English Cathedral libraries.[5] The sort of books that would form the backbone of scholarly collections were almost all imported. The most recent and complete survey of early English book collections for the period before 1550 suggests that books printed in England (at London and Westminster) account for only four per cent of titles known from surviving collections and library lists.[6]

The Latin book world was a special case, though an important one, for the Latin book market was, and remained, the cornerstone of the industries in the larger European centres of print. The greatest and best known names in the international print world—Estienne in Paris, Froben and Oporinus in Basle, the Aldine press in Venice—were usually major figures in the world of Latin print before they became purveyors of vernacular books. But even among vernacular markets there were very stark differences in book culture. Here it is probably best not to think in terms of political boundaries but in language groups. In these terms the three largest vernacular markets were the German, the French and the Italian. In secondary position one finds the Spanish and Dutch—the Spanish with a well developed urban culture and some eight million native speakers were an obviously important market; the Dutch was smaller, but pulled into the second rank by an exceptional degree of urbanisation and high literacy rates. The English market forms part of a third group, along with the Portuguese, Polish and Czech. There

---

[4] For import of foreign books in the first century of print see Lotte Hellinga, 'Importation of Boks Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c. 1520', in Sandra Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word. The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 205–224. Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English purchases of printed books from the Continent, 1465–1526', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), pp. 268–290

[5] David J. Shaw, *Books printed on the continent in the Anglican Cathedral Libraries of England and Wales* (London, 1998).

[6] Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of printed books into England and Scotland', in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. 3: 1400–1557* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 183.

were fewer than four million native English speakers, and a low rate of urbanisation implied an undistinguished level of literacy. London provided the only market of any size. England had only two universities, both of which would be adequately supplied with Latin books from the Continent.

<div align="center">IV</div>

All these structural factors pointed to a relatively slow growth for English printing: and so it proved. In the third quarter of the fifteenth century the English nobility, in common with other European elites, certainly began to manifest curiosity about the new technology, but the first books to reach England were imported foreign works. That England was represented at all in the first incunabula age owed much to the curiosity of Caxton, a gentleman merchant with time on his hands as a successful business and diplomatic career stalled in the vicissitudes of the Wars of the Roses.[7] As Caxton spread the word it became a matter of pride that there should be an English press—like printers elsewhere in Europe, Caxton relied heavily on royal patronage—but the market remained select. And early English printing was heavily dependent on the Continent in all respects. Caxton, who had observed the craft of printing while a merchant in Bruges, brought with him from Flanders everything necessary for running his own press: the type-faces, woodblocks and ornaments, and, most of important of all, skilled technicians. This continued through his long and successful career. When types wore out he reordered from his reliable partner Veldener in Louvain, and other Continental craftsmen cut his woodcuts and distinctive print insignia. Even after the printed book caught on in England, the pattern established by Caxton did not much change. Caxton's principal rival in London, Richard Pynson, was a Frenchman from Normandy, and the pioneering presses in Oxford and St Albans were also run by foreigners. The anti-alien statute of Richard III specifically excluded the book industry from its provisions. It would otherwise would have throttled at birth.

Caxton's work has a revered place in the folklore of English bibliophiles, but the overall contribution to the print culture of the

---

[7] For Caxton, George G. Painter, *A Quincentenary Biography of England's First Printer* (London, 1975). N. F. Blake, *Caxton and his World* (London, 1969).

incunabula age was extraordinarily modest. The new electronic version of the *English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC)* lists 422 items for the period 1468–1499.[8] But of these books more than fifty were works in fact printed abroad for sale in England (mostly Books of Hours and other small devotional works printed for English booksellers and publishers at Paris, Rouen or Antwerp). Of the remainder, about at least thirty items were single page broadsheets. This leaves a little over 300 books (that is, printed works of more than one sheet) printed in England during the incunabula age (before 1500). If, as is now reckoned, the total number of printed works published throughout Europe before 1500 is around thirty thousand, then printers in England contributed only about one per cent to this total. One single continental city—Venice—published ten times as many incunabula as were published in England.[9]

The first years of the sixteenth century did little to alter this situation. With the help of the *ESTC* I have attempted a relatively full analysis of the output of a single year in the decade before the Reformation: 1514. There were 37 works that the *ESTC* allocates to this year, but of these seven were printed abroad, in Paris or Rouen. These were mostly Books of Hours and Missals printed for the Cologne-based printer Arnold Birckman, who had established a profitable bookshop in London; that he should have looked to Paris for these editions is no surprise, since Paris was the acknowledged centre of high-quality work in this field. Of the remaining 30 books, 5 were broadsheets, and 17 books were in Latin (mostly grammars and school books, though with one edition of Virgil's *Bucolia*). There was one legal text in Law French and one book of English statutes. Of the remaining vernacular books five were small devotional works, all from the shop of Wynkyn de Worde, the German artisan who had managed Caxton's print shop and taken it over after his death. He was also responsible for a proportion of the Latin works. The proclamations and law books were handled by Richard Pynson.

These two print shops dominated the output of English books in 1514. Yet neither seems to have been especially busy. To underline this point I recalculated the output of English printing for this year,

---

[8] This is my own calculation; for earlier data, based on the published print version, see Maureen Bell and John Barnard, 'Provisional Count of STC Titles 1475–1640', *Publishing History*, 31 (1992), pp. 48–64.

[9] The estimate of 3000 pre-1500 editions for Venice is in Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books', p. 184, citing data from the ongoing *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*.

this time calculating the length of each book in sheets (in an octavo, a gathering of eight leaves or sixteen pages). If one assumes that each sheet would have been a single day's work for an individual press, then the surviving books account for some hundred days work in de Worde's shop, and only thirty days in Pynson's.

In other words the entire output of the English printing industry for the year 1514 could have been handled by two shops, each possessing just one press, working at much less than full capacity. Not surprisingly in the circumstances, the competition between the two men was not very intense. Both had their established areas of specialisation, Pynson through his appointment as King's printer, Worde through his mastery of the business since its earliest settlement in England. Their domination of London printing was remarkably enduring. De Worde, who had moved Caxton's shop from Westminster to London in 1501, had by the time of his death in 1535 issued some 800 books. Pynson's contribution, before he succumbed to old age and the growing competition of his rival Richard Redman in 1529, was a scarcely less considerable 500 editions.

<div align="center">V</div>

It is now time to investigate how these established patterns were affected by the onset of the Reformation. On the Continent, of course, the controversies unleashed by the German monk Martin Luther stimulated a torrent of printed books.[10] More especially, the particular nature of the books published during the German debates had a profound impact on the publishing industry. The German *Flugschriften*, short books, quick to produce and selling massively, generated quick profits, and this in turn provided the capital for new projects. Thus the profits from Luther's smaller vernacular writings helped underwrite the publication of his German Bible, the most ambitious book of the Reformation, but ultimately the most profitable of all.

---

[10] Data on German Reformation printing is summarised helpfully in Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, 1994) and John L. Flood, 'The Book in Reformation Germany', in J.-F. Gilmont (ed.), *The Reformation and the Book* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Aldershot, 1998), pp. 21–103. See also Hans-Joachim Köhler (ed.), *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart, 1981).

In the process there were fortunes to be made. In the 1520s Luther's hometown of Wittenberg boomed, essentially as a one-industry town.[11] The same effect was evident later in the century in Calvin's adopted home of Geneva, which grew rich on the publication of his prolific writings.[12] Frankfurt, meanwhile, established itself as Europe's major distribution centre, as readers across Europe sought to follow the new debates, and booksellers responded by improving their networks of distribution to meet this demand.

In England, the initial impact of this veritable torrent of print was comparatively slight. Luther's criticisms of the church attracted some attention; we know that the second Latin edition of Luther's collected writings, a venture of the sharp-eyed Basle entrepreneur Johann Froben, sold copies in England.[13] But the official condemnation of his teachings came before interest could broaden sufficiently to develop a real vernacular market in evangelical books. For those who did not command Latin, Luther remained an unknown quantity. None of his works were rendered into English before 1535, and even then those chosen for translation tended to be relatively uncontroversial devotional works and sermons, rather than the great milestones of Reformation controversy. Significantly none of these early translations identified Luther as the author, preferring weak circumlocutions—'a book made by a certain great clerk'—or simple anonymity.[14]

This tendency to publish Luther's works only with his role as author disguised was one shared with a number of European lands where the condemnation of Luther's writings was upheld.[15] Large amounts of disguised Luther works came out in French, Dutch and Italian; in the cases of some of these works the disguise was so effective that work has

---

[11] There is no good modern study of Wittenberg printing but see now Andrew Pettegree, 'Books, pamphlets and polemic', in Pettegree, *The Reformation World* (London, 2000), pp. 109–126. For the education industry in Wittenberg see Maria Grossman, *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485–1517* (Nieuwkoop, 1975).

[12] Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Calvin et le Livre Imprimé* (Geneva, 1997). H. J. Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe* (Geneva, 1969).

[13] Froben to Luther, February 1519. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesammtausgabe Briefwechsel* (18 vols., Weimar, 1930–85), i. 331–5 (letter 146).

[14] *A Book made by a certain great clerk, against the new idol and the old devil* [London, Wyer], 1534. *STC* 16962. *A very excellent and sweet exposition upon the 23rd psalm* [Southwark, Nicolson for Gough, 1537]. *STC* 16999.

[15] Bernd Moeller, 'Luther in Europe: his works in translation, 1517–1546', in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (eds.), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe* (London, 1987), pp. 235–251. Gilmont, *The Reformation and the Book*.

only recently been revealed as a translation of Luther.[16] But in other respects all three of these cases diverged sharply from the English model. Readers in France, Italy and the Netherlands found their way to Luther's writings and those of other early evangelical authors far more easily than did English readers. In France, the tight control exercised by the conservative Paris authorities led quickly to the establishment of centres of publication within the French language zone, but outside the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris: first at Antwerp and Neuchâtel, later, and most famously, at Geneva.[17] In the Netherlands the sheer volume of publishing allowed a large number of works sympathetic to the Reformation to slip through the net. The fact, too, that printing was divided between several urban centres, all of which jealously guarded an independent jurisdiction, made the job of the censors far more difficult. This seems to have been the crucial factor also in the Netherlands, where evangelical print flourished in the period of doctrinal uncertainty before 1544. Finally, and most crucially (and in contrast to France) in the Netherlands the publication of vernacular scripture was not forbidden, and this provided an opening for evangelical influence. Consequently readers in the Netherlands could take advantage of a veritable torrent of evangelical publishing in Dutch—some 80 editions of Luther's works and another 60 editions of scripture in the years before 1546—and this despite some of the most savage punitive legislation in the whole of Europe.[18] The figures for France are scarcely less impressive. A recent survey conducted as part of my own researches into European Protestant print has enumerated some 484 editions of Protestant or evangelical works published in French by 1546.

If the results for English are far less impressive this is partly because the structural underpinnings of the publishing enterprise were so very different. English print was in any case a small market, and it was overwhelmingly concentrated in one city, London, which happened to be the capital and therefore most easily regulated. The industry was so small that it was virtually impossible for one of the established printers to publish disapproved works without being immediately identified

---

[16] Francis Higman, 'Les traductions françaises de Luther, 1524–1550', in his *Lire et découvrir. La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva, 1998), pp. 201–232.

[17] Francis Higman, *Piety and the People. Religious Printing in French, 1511–1551* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1996). Bettye Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bible. Fifteenth and Sixteenth-century French-language editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1993).

[18] C. Ch. G Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen, 1969). A. A. Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen, 1522–1545* (Nieuwkoop, 1997).

as the culprit. Nor would they want to, given that the cornerstone of their prosperity was the publication of official and quasi-official publications, patronage that would be speedily withdrawn if they strayed into disapproved areas. It is therefore no accident that the publication of Protestant works in English largely awaited the more favourable atmosphere that came with the break with Rome in the 1530s. Even then, the larger and more established firms tended to steer clear of polemical and controversial works that carried with them any element of risk.

Many of the same structural and economic barriers would also face any potential evangelical entrepreneur interested in following the continental trend for the publication of the vernacular Bible. Given the size of the undertaking with a text of this length, and the level of investment required, a Bible was hardly a suitable text for clandestine publication. With a work of this size the length of time the partly completed sheets would be hanging around the print shop, exciting comment in the small and gossipy English print world, and inevitably liable to inspection and confiscation, meant that such a project could only be contemplated with official support. This is precisely how William Tyndale first attempted to proceed, applying initially to Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, in the hope that he would sponsor publication of his own new translation.[19] It was only when this hope was dashed that Tyndale decided to pursue his ventures abroad, first in Cologne, the German city where Caxton had first observed the printer's art, later in Worms and Antwerp. Tyndale's task, pursued with astonishing zeal and perseverance, was far from straightforward. To the normal obstacles of finding capital, were added additional problems particular to the publication of early English printing abroad: compositors and proof-readers working outside their native language, and type alphabets designed for German rather than English orthography. Nor was Cologne a particularly happy choice for Tyndale's venture. Although a major centre of the typographic art, it was also a loyal Catholic city. Half way through the planned print run the Catholic theologian Cochlaeus intervened to have the venture terminated, and Tyndale could only save himself and the precious sheets by carrying them off for finishing in Worms. Here an edition of the New Testament was finally seen through to completion, but Worms was no print capital, and Tyndale soon moved on: by 1528 he was in Antwerp.

---

[19] David Daniell, *William Tyndale. A Biography* (New Haven, 1994), pp. 83–107.

Tyndale's arrival in Antwerp, though largely fortuitous, was the salvation of English Protestant print. At last he had fixed upon a situation that provided both the chance of high quality publishing in English and easy access to the English market. Antwerp was the home of the English cloth staple, with a large resident community of English merchants and artisans; by the 1530s it was fast becoming the hub of the intense and varied trade between England (and principally London) and the Netherlands. The resident English community included a number sympathetic or interested in the new evangelical doctrines, and would provide easier access to capital and native English proof-readers. Most important of all, Antwerp had both a large and well capitalised publishing industry and an established tradition of vernacular Bible publication.[20] Although the printing industry was theoretically subject to tight controls to cut down the flow of evangelical print, Bibles were not included in the prohibition. This was important, because it meant that not only were the major Antwerp printers experienced with the particular demands of Bible printing, they had also had time to build the stock of illustrative material which could turn a relatively rudimentary text into a fine edition.[21]

Tyndale made good use of his time in Antwerp. His translation of the Pentateuch was completed in 1531, and an improved revision of the Cologne/Worms New Testament appeared in 1534. Meanwhile Tyndale used the intervals of leisure afforded by his translation work to publish several more polemic works: the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of Christen Man* (1528), the bitingly satirical *Practyce of Prelates* (1530). Thanks to Tyndale and Antwerp English Protestantism had been able to make a first original contribution to the European polemical debate of the Reformation.[22] This wave of imported Protestant works infuriated the English authorities, and particularly Thomas More, who replied with a vigour and lack of restraint that has consistently troubled admirers of a more delicate disposition. From that point Tyndale was a marked man, though his Bible project continued to flourish, reaching completion finally in 1535 with the publication of the Coverdale

---

[20] W. Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandse bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (The Hague, 1923–1971). Den Hollander, *Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*.

[21] Bart A. Rosier, *The Bible in Print. Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century* (2 vols., Leiden, 1997).

[22] *Antwerp. Dissident Typographical Centre. The Role of Antwerp Printers in the Religious Conflicts in England (16th century)* (Antwerp, 1994) and Daniell, *Tyndale*, pp. 155–280.

translation, incorporating much of Tyndale's work. Coverdale was working in Cologne, but all the internal typographical evidence points to Antwerp as the place of printing of the first Coverdale Bible. This is indeed the conclusion of the most recent scholar to subject the text to detailed scientific investigation.[23]

By this point the climate for Protestant works in England was beginning to change. Shortly after Tyndale's arrest and execution in the Low Countries Henry VIII licensed an English translation of the Bible, and Protestants viewed, for the first time, the prospect of legal publication and distribution of the text of English scripture. But even with this official encouragement the London printing industry was not yet in a position to take advantage. For such an important prestige project the London book industry continued to rely on tried and tested Continental friends. The Bible edition published with this official encouragement—the so called Matthew Bible of 1537—was produced in Antwerp on the presses of Mattheus Crom, a man fast emerging as a crucial figure in the English Protestant book world.[24] Crom provided the Bible with a fine version of the 'Law and the Gospel' title-page developed in Wittenberg for the first generation of Luther Bibles and popularised for western Europe by the Antwerp printers.[25] Even more surprising than this Antwerp enterprise, when the English authorities took in hand their own semi-official translation (the so-called Great Bible of 1538–9), it, too, was printed abroad, though on this occasion in Paris. This is all the more astonishing in that Paris printers had since 1526 been forbidden from publishing any vernacular French editions of scripture, and the printer involved in this project, François Regnault, was an established and respected member of the local trade fraternity.[26] One can only imagine that on this occasion industry considerations—the sheer incapacity of the London printers to meet the sudden demand for printed scripture in this 'Prague Spring' of the English Reformation—took precedence over politics. Certainly Paris

[23] Guido Latré, 'The 1535 Coverdale Bible and its Antwerp Origins', in Orlaith O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Bible as Book. The Reformation* (London, 2000), pp. 89–102.

[24] Willem Heijting, 'Early Reformation Literature from the Printing Shop of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdman', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 74 (1994), pp. 143–61.

[25] Andrew Pettegree, 'The Law and the Gospel: The Evolution of an Evangelical Pictorial Theme in the Bibles of the Reformation', in O'Sullivan, *The Bible as Book*, pp. 123–136.

[26] For the ban on vernacular Scripture in France, Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne* (Geneva, 1979), pp. 26 ff.

printers would have been delighted to be offered the work, since many had from the early 1520s stocks of biblical woodcuts for which they now had little use.[27]

Even so, the venture ended badly. The publishers, Grafton and Whitchurch, had taken the precaution of obtaining a licence from the French King allowing them to print the Bible with any French printer they chose, but the long months of work required meant that the agreement with Regnault inevitably attracted attention locally. The local ecclesiastical authorities were probably goaded into action by Regnault's outraged industry competitors, who queried why he should publish vernacular scripture when they could not. In any case, in December the publication was banned and the already completed sheets were confiscated. It was only after tortured diplomatic negotiations that the project was rescued, and even then the printers were forced to buy back a portion of the completed sheets from a haberdasher who had purchased them for waste paper—the rest had already been destroyed. In due course the project was completed in London, with type, printers and paper brought over from the Paris shop. The result, not surprisingly, fell some way short of the prestige edition that had initially been envisaged.[28]

The evangelical moment of the late 1530s proved of short duration. By 1540, with the execution of Thomas Cromwell and the Act of Six Articles (1539), the tide had turned, and soon legislation would be published imposing new restrictions on the reading of the vernacular Bible. But this conservative turn in the royal mind was ultimately far less of a disaster for English Protestantism than it is sometimes portrayed. Most evangelical sympathisers at the heart of the regime—Cranmer and his lay sympathisers on the Privy Council—remained entrenched, and there were few negative consequences for English Protestant print. At first Protestant publishing continued in London largely undisturbed, and it was only with the conservative assault of 1543 (the maximum point of danger for Cranmer also) that the publication of openly Protestant works in England became more hazardous.[29] A number

---

[27] The displacement of these redundant Bible illustrations into other sorts of illustrated books has not yet been systematically studied, but see Max Engemarre, 'Les représentations de l'Escriture dans les Bibles illustrées du XVIe siècle: Pour une herméneutique de l'image imprimée dans le texte biblique', *Revue Française d'Histoire du Livre*, 86–87 (1995), pp. 118–89.

[28] This story, reconstructed from the State Papers, is told in Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London, 1965), pp. 61–4.

[29] For the chronology and events of these years see especially Diarmaid MacCulloch,

of clergy authors who had identified themselves most conspicuously
with the evangelical cause with their writings or actions now took ref-
uge abroad. But once again the Antwerp connection served English
evangelicals well. During the last six years of Henry's reign, Antwerp
printers produced for the English market a considerable number of
Protestant works, including the works of leading lights of the emerging
generation of English Protestant authors, George Joye, John Bale and
William Turner. These were fine looking books, published in a clean
and easy black-letter type; undoubtedly they were of finer quality than
would have been achieved had they been published in England. The
smooth and rapid trading connections between the ports of Antwerp
and London meant that there were no obstacles to distribution in
London; the city's Protestant community remained well supplied with
books even while conservatives in Henry's Privy Council believed that
they were winning the battle for control of English policy.

Many of these books were the work of the emerging Antwerp firm
of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdman. Crom, the printer of the
Matthew Bible, was a committed evangelical, and he was happy to add
to his established Dutch evangelical work a series of commissions from
English authors abroad. From 1544 he was joined in the business by his
son-in-law Steven Mierdman, and between 1537 and 1546 they turned
out no fewer than thirty English-language Protestant works.[30] Eventually
their evangelical connections were too obvious to be ignored. In 1546
the firm was caught in Charles V's determined clampdown on evangeli-
cal activity in Antwerp and forced to close. Crom retired from business
and Mierdman transferred to London, joining the growing number of
Antwerp refugees active in the London publishing industry.

Mierdman was thus among a number of foreign immigrant printers
well positioned to take advantage of the sudden change of climate with
the death of Henry VIII in January 1547. When the old king expired
it was the connections of his favourite wife, Jane Seymour, who were
positioned to take advantage; and they, led by Edward Seymour, soon
to be Duke of Somerset, were closely associated with the evangelical
sympathisers who had carefully bided their time since the execution
of Thomas Cromwell in 1540. For those able to read the runes, the

----

Thomas Cranmer (New Haven, 1996). Alec Ryrie, 'English evangelical reformers in the
last years of Henry VIII', D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford (2000), pp. 282–5. Ryrie,
'The Strange Death of Lutheran England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002).

[30] Heijting, 'Crom and Mierdman'.

prospects for the future were clear, and evangelical authors seized their chance. The first years of the new reign witnessed an explosion of Protestant print—all the more remarkable when one considers how few Protestant works had been printed in England in the first two decades of the Reformation. This revolution in the London printing industry took advantage of—and in turn helped to stimulate—a much wider public discussion of evangelical issues. This was deliberately encouraged by the new regime: indeed, one of the first and most crucial acts of the new regime was to pass through Parliament a statute that removed previous restrictions on the publication of unauthorised religious works. The consequences were striking. From an average of around 100 editions (of all types of works) for the first half of the 1540s, the industry expanded dramatically: with 192 published in 1547 and an astonishing 268 in 1548. The figures declined somewhat in 1549 (after the re-imposition of censorship restrictions) before climbing back to 249 in 1550. Furthermore, these publications were dominated by works of a religious character—Bibles, catechisms, works of exegesis and polemic—almost all of them Protestant.

Further analysis confirms this impression of a revolution in English print culture. With the exception of what might be called official print (proclamations and liturgies), the new Protestant print fell mostly into three categories. There were reprints of the classics of the early English Reformation—Tyndale enjoyed a new vogue—and multiple editions of scripture. There were numerous translations of the works of Continental authors: for the first time English readers had access to a full range of the thought of Protestant Continental divines. The Swiss Reformation was represented by Zwingli and Bullinger (a very popular author), the Germans by Bucer, Brenz, Musculus and Melanchthon. French evangelical writing was present in translations of Calvin, Antoine Marcourt and Veron, and the wider international movement by Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli—both, of course, like Bucer, by this time enjoying Cranmer's hospitality in England. The reputation of the dead Luther was upheld by Walter Lynne's translation of a series of pastoral sermons, though curiously the milestones of Luther's theological writing were not rendered into English. Apart from texts by these major Continental figures, English readers were exposed to a range of writings by returning or emerging leaders of the English Church: Becon, Crowley, Latimer, Hooper, Joye and Ridley, along with Cranmer, were all heavily published. The principal focus of these writings were the Catholic Mass, and the construction of the new church; for this reason

English translations of major contemporaneous Continental church orders, such as that of Herman von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, were also published.

At the end of this brief survey of the new English Protestant print two points need to be stressed. Firstly, it is now increasingly clear that this Protestant publishing offensive was deliberately fostered by those at the very heart of the Edwardian regime. It was once fashionable to argue (though always inherently implausible) that the Edwardian Privy Council presided over the construction of a Protestant polity without fully realising what was afoot. If it is stretching credulity too far to suggest Somerset blundered into reform almost by mistake,[31] then it has certainly been thought that the reform of the church was far from Somerset's first policy priority.[32] Against this school of argument, always perverse and counter-intuitive, recent research has demonstrated very convincingly the centrality and full radicalism of the Edwardian project.[33]

Examination of the way in which Protestant works were brought into the public domain only increases this sense of clarity of purpose. Here what has been said about industry constraints becomes very relevant. There is a real question, in a period in which the constraints on the articulation of evangelical opinions had only barely been loosened, and when the audience for evangelical publishing could hardly be assumed, how such a mass of printed work could be financed. What can now be demonstrated, thanks to painstaking work by Diarmaid MacCulloch, John King and Christopher Bradshaw, among others, is that leading figures in the Protestant regime and London society actively promoted Protestant projects.[34] Printers, authors and members of the Privy Council operated within a tightly knit circle of friendship, patronage and personal connection. Somerset, Cranmer and their key allies all put work the way of sympathetic printers; authors and publishers responded with fulsome dedicatory letters. After the fall of Somerset the principal role at the centre of this network was increasingly filled by William Cecil. Printers who did the regime's work were rewarded

---

[31] Although this, bizarrely, is precisely what is suggested by Christopher Haigh. 'Somerset had blundered into a total ban on images, and he had got away with it.' Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford, 1993), p. 170.

[32] M. L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (Manchester, 1975).

[33] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, and his *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999).

[34] For what follows see now MacCulloch, *Cranmer* and John N. King, *English Reformation Literature. The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, 1982).

by valuable monopolies on the printing of popular liturgical handbooks and school books. The patent granted to John Day in 1553 to publish the works of Becon and Ponet became the cornerstone of Day's later prosperity when Ponet's *Brief Catechisme* was appended to the *ABC*.

The will and the resources were clearly present; but the London industry was still very deficient in terms of technical expertise. Many of the books published in the first years of Edward's reign were short polemical works; but others were of considerable length and complexity. The demand for editions of scripture alone would have stretched the rather conservative and somnolent London print culture of the early 1540s.

The London industry was forced to expand, and at very great speed. It has to this point scarcely been acknowledged the extent to which this expansion depended on Dutch technical expertise. Just as English evangelical authors relied heavily on Antwerp for the first stage of their engagement with the Henrician Reformation, and the opposition campaign of the 1540s, so now Antwerp provided the means to meet the new demands and opportunities of the reign of Edward VI. It is not much of an exaggeration to say that the London industry in this period became an effective satellite of the print world of the Scheldt entrepôt. Much of the new sets of type supplied to the new and expanding London print shops came from Antwerp. Thanks to these clean types, and improving technical skill, there is a marked improvement in the appearance of English books during the six years of Edward's reign. Design also shows a marked improvement: London printers begin during these years to show a far greater facility and assurance handling type of different sizes and styles on the same page.

This improvement also owed a great deal to Dutch expertise. By the middle years of Edward's reign, and thanks in part to Charles V's crackdown on evangelicals in the Netherlands, there were a large number of Dutch print workers employed in London—both independent master printers like Mierdman, and ordinary pressmen and compositors. All were able to take advantage of the mass enrolments of new denizens (i.e., legally authorised alien residents) associated with the foundation of the London stranger churches, of which many of the print artisans were members.

We can illustrate some of the effects of these developments in the early career of the well-known London printer John Day.[35] Although Day

---

[35] See also John N. King, 'John Day: master printer of the English Reformation', in

was a member of the Stationers' Company as early as 1550, the first
books bearing his name date only from 1546. But from these tentative
beginnings, Day quickly emerged as one of the leading purveyors of
Protestant print during the reign of Edward VI. Day worked first mainly
in partnership with William Seres, another leading printer with close
connections to the new regime. Among Seres's publications were books
by some of the most prominent authors: John Hooper, Hugh Latimer,
John Ponet and William Turner of the new evangelical establishment,
John Calvin of the major continental theologians. Day and his partner
were deeply involved in the most controversial issues of the day. Ten
of the twenty books they published in 1548 were contributions to the
debate over eucharistic doctrine, including works by Luke Shepherd,
Robert Crowley and William Turner. Day's partnership with Seres was
dissolved in 1550, but his career went from strength to strength. All in
all, some 130 works can be attributed to his press for the six years of
Edward's reign, including a substantial and elaborate folio Bible. Day's
work was also characterised by a notable technical assurance. This may
partly be attributed to the extensive use Day made in his print shop
of foreign workmen. The 1549 census of immigrants recorded four
Dutchmen (presumably journeymen) living in the house at Aldersgate
which also housed his printing works, a connection which for Day also
extended to a close relationship with leading members of the Protestant
refugee community in London. This connection established a profes-
sional reliance on foreign expertise that would last for the whole of
Day's career. As his publishing expanded in range and sophistication,
Day inevitably looked abroad, or to foreigners settled in London, for
the new typefaces, woodcut artists, or proficiencies required. Much later
in his career at a moment of crisis in the production of the second
edition of the *Actes and Monuments*, Day would petition William Cecil
for relief from the order prohibiting the employment of more than
four foreign journeymen.

   John Day was far from unique in his reliance on foreign expertise;
for their own part foreign printers settled in London (Mierdman,
Lynne, Nicolas Hill, Gilles van der Erve) made a substantial contribu-
tion to the output of English Protestant print. All in all, by the end of
Edward's reign the London publishing industry, stimulated by growth

Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge,
2002), pp. 180–208.

in demand, investment and availability of skilled workmen, was finally beginning to make up some ground on the major centres of Continental publishing.

<div align="center">VI</div>

We are almost ready to say that English printing, after a century in the shadows, had come of age; but there was one further trial still to be undergone. The accession of Mary Tudor brought a sharp recession in the London printing industry. With the death of Edward VI and the restoration of traditional forms of Catholic worship, demand for religious books was now once again sharply circumscribed and closely regulated; many of those London publishers who had been most closely associated with the old regime had few prospects with the new.

It is often said that the attitudes of the new Marian regime to the printed word were deeply ambiguous, and it is true that with the restoration of Catholicism timeless truths and forms of worship called for a different sort of religious literature. It is not true to say that the Marian regime was not alive to the need to justify its religious policies in print. It is now recognised that the new government could mount a very effective press campaign in the right circumstances: as for instance was the case with their efforts to convince European opinion of the legitimacy of the Marian succession.[36] But for this purpose they employed Continental presses. The recession in domestic printing had at least as much to do with the fact that relatively few of the printers who had flourished under Edward VI were ready and willing to print the sort of books the new regime required.

Of the best-capitalized London publishers, those who had flourished through official patronage under Edward either sharply cut back their operations, or left England altogether. This is worthy of emphasis, not least because if has become customary to regard printers as motivated, in the main, more by profit than conviction. During Edward's reign there had certainly been profits to be made, but the fact that so many of the leading figures in the industry made no effort to accommodate to the change of regime suggests that for many the commitment to

---

[36] Jennifer Loach, 'The Marian establishment and the printing press', *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986), pp. 135–148.

the Protestant religion was heartfelt rather than tactical. Some, like
John Day, simply disappeared from view,[37] others went abroad. This
was not an easy decision for a printer. Vacating a London print shop
often meant leaving equipment behind or selling up—and with the
industry in recession this was hardly a propitious time to be putting print
equipment onto the market. Even if a printer hoped to set up abroad,
there was no guarantee of being able to make a living. Continental
towns guarded the privileges of their trade guilds as jealously as did
London, and a London printer going abroad would have to exchange
the privileged status of a free tradesman for the marginal existence of
the interloper. That so many of London's Protestant printers chose these
uncertain prospects speaks strongly for the depth of their commitment
to the now defunct Edwardian regime.

Abroad, some did ultimately succeed in making a living. Here they
profited from their position as part of a larger exile community, for
the dispossessed leaders of the Edwardian church hierarchy had little
intention of accepting in silence the destruction of their work and
hopes for a Protestant England. Settled in safe havens in Germany
and Switzerland, they quickly returned to the fray, putting out a steady
stream of writings denouncing the new Marian regime and calling on
those who had remained behind to remain true to shared values.[38] They
also put such resources as they had salvaged from England into the
polemical struggle; several English and Dutch emigré printers were able
to re-equip, and with this help establish reputable new print shops.[39]
But it says a great deal for the commitment of the exile communities
that even in these cramped and difficult conditions, English Protestants
succeeded in at least matching the Marian regime in their output of
polemical literature. This was despite the fact that the English govern-
ment controlled what remained of the London industry, and bent every
sinew to prevent Protestant literature from the Continent reaching its
intended readership.

The new English Catholic hierarchy did not ignore the battle for
hearts and minds. The defence of the Catholic faith was important

---

[37] For suggestions regarding what Day was up to in this period, see King, 'Day',
pp. 197–204.

[38] Edward J. Baskerville, *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic published
in Enlish between 1553 and 1558* (Philadelphia, 1979).

[39] Especially at Wesel and Emden. On Wesel, Robin A Leaver, *'Goostley Psalmes and
Spirituall Songes'. English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566*
(Oxford, 1991), ch. 6. On Emden, Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt* (Oxford,
1992), ch. 4.

for morale and self-esteem, and the leading authors of the new church published some important and effective works of controversy and theology. But this was hardly the first priority. The re-creation of a Catholic church required a different sort of literature: Missals and breviaries for the Mass, Books of Hours for private devotion. Some could be could be restored from the churches from where they had been kept in safety against this very day; but much was lost, and needed to be replaced.

This, however, was precisely the sort of religious literature with which the English print industry lacked experience. Missals and Breviaries were traditionally printed in two colours (inked in red and black), which required a complicated and delicate system of double impression. Before the Reformation the usual practice had been to import such books from the established publishing centres where such techniques had been fully mastered, most notably in France: Paris, in particular, was the established European centre of fine quality liturgical printing. With the heavy demand at the beginning of Mary's reign such patterns of trade were quickly restored. Even when editions were printed ostensibly for an English publisher, a French press was often used.

Books of Hours were a rather different case. With a text that was often largely in Latin, often rubricated (printed in red and black), these were complex and lavish books, purchased not simply to be read. Often the text was encased in an elaborate border, and accompanied by numerous woodcut illustrations. Few English printers had the necessary stock of woodcut blocks to hand; there had been no call for them in the previous reign, when the English book industry had been making steady profits, and before this the English book trade was still relatively small. Even when Books of Hours had been published in England, the illustrative material would have been bought abroad. In the first half of the century the pictorial arts in England lagged so far behind the Continent that English printers would send abroad even to have their monograph symbols cut, never mind woodcuts of complex figures and devotional scenes.[40] In short, the obstacles to the development of a strong vernacular tradition of publishing Catholic devotional literature within England during Mary's reign were formidable; and during the short time available little progress was made in this regard. England became, once again, a major importer of religious books.

---

[40] For the comparatively undeveloped state of English woodcut art see now Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603* (Tempe, AZ, 1998), especially the illustrations in vol. 2.

Thus the Elizabethan inheritance, in this, as in so much else, was very mixed. The Marian government had not been unaware of the importance of printing in the moulding of religious opinion. The Privy Council actively promoted the Catholic viewpoint in religious controversy both at home, and abroad. And in common with all Continental regimes, the regulation of the flow of printed books was seen as fundamental to good religious order. Under Mary this extended beyond attempts to prevent the infiltration of hostile Protestant propaganda to the reorganisation of the London Stationers' Company (1557). But the price paid for the restoration of control over the industry was a heavy one. The flight abroad of expertise and capital, English and foreign, meant that the English industry gave up much of the ground it had recovered during the reign of Edward VI. The turn back to traditional liturgical literature, away from scripture and polemic, meant that carefully nurtured expertise was now redundant, and skills (as in the printing of Catholic liturgical manuals) now urgently necessary were not available.

The accession of Elizabeth would permit the re-creation of the basic features of the industry as it had developed under Edward VI, both in terms of personnel, and in the categories of books in demand. This would be a major source of its success, and a major boost to the London economy in the first decade of the new reign. Studies of the Elizabethan settlement now acknowledge the large elements of continuity with the interrupted Edwardian establishment, be that in terms of church order, or the leading personnel and policies of the new regime. Much the same point could be made for the London printing trade, as is demonstrated in the resurrected career of John Day, whose new great printing venture, the *Actes and Monuments*, would be one of the greatest creations of early English print. In so many respects this book built on the Edwardian tradition, both in the materials garnered by leading figures of the church, and in the production process, underpinned by Dutch expertise, (evident in the typographical material used, the workshop personnel, and the style of the illustrations). Considered purely as a physical artefact, this milestone in the formation of an independent English Protestant identity epitomised (not without a certain irony) the English Reformation's extensive dependence on the Continental movement of which it formed a sometimes reluctant part.

INDEX

Library of the Written Word

─────────────────────────

The Handpress World

Series Editor

Andrew Pettegree

The *Library of the Written Word* is an international peer-reviewed book series that publishes monographs, edited volumes, source materials and bibliographies on a variety of subjects, related to the history of the book, magazines and newspapers. The series consists of three subseries, each one covering a particular period: *The Manuscript World*, *The Handpress World*, and *The Industrial World*.

The series invites studies in codicology, palaeography, typography, economic history of the trade and the technology of printing. Analytical bibliographies as well as editions of key sources can be included, and the studies on the cultural and political role and impact of the written word are also welcome. Where possible, the economic aspects of the book trade should be included in studies published in this series.

1. Pettegree, A. *The French Book and the European Book World*. 2007.
    ISBN 978 90 04 16187 0 (Published as Vol. 1 in the subseries *The Handpress World*)